

COLONEL MOODY AND THE ROYAL ENGINEERS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA



A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts in the Department of History,

The University of British Columbia

April, 1946.

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by

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FOREWORD

This thesis aims to estimate the work of Colonel Richard Clement Moody, R. E., and the detachment of Royal Engineers under his command from the time of their appointment for service in British Columbia, consequent to the Gold Rush of 1858, until their withdrawal in November, 1864.

On account of the glamour that is associated with pioneer life, it is not usually realized that Colonel Moody and his men faced problems and difficulties of an acute nature, and that they achieved a great deal for the colony in spite of the fact that they were hampered in no small degree by the lack of understanding by the governor, James Douglas.

Most of the material used in this thesis is from primary sources, filed in the Provincial Archives, Victoria. Some of the quotations, cited, I believe, for the first time, are given in toto. This accounts for their length.

I wish to thank Dr. Kaye Lamb, Mrs. Cree, Miss Madge Wolfenden and Mr. Willard Ireland for the helpful assistance rendered.

Of the few historians who have written on the colonial period of British Columbian history, Judge F. W. Howay has made the greatest contribution. The wealth of material that he has gleaned from the original sources, the accuracy with which he has recorded it, and the spirit that permeates the whole endeavour, can only be fully appreciated

by those who have laboured in the same field. The contributions of Dr. W. N. Sage and Dr. R. L. Reid are also of inestimable value.

I wish to thank Dr. Sage for his kindly counsel and encouragement in writing this thesis. Also, I am indebted to Dr. Sylvia Thrupp, Dr. R. L. Reid, Miss Nora Mains and Mr. W. E. Reed for their valuable suggestions.

Vancouver, B. C.

L. C.

April, 1940.

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Chapter 1

Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers.

In 1857 American adventurers, first to have news of the gold discoveries in Caledonia made their way from the Columbia to the watershed of the Thompson River and in spite of Indian opposition, prospected the streams and reported that the whole country was a bed of gold.

James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island, realizing that there would be a large number of people attracted by the reports of gold took the liberty of issuing, without authority - his commission as Governor of Vancouver Island and Lieutenant Governor of Queen Charlotte Islands did not include the mainland - a proclamation, on December 28, 1857,⁽¹⁾ which declared the rights of the Crown in respect to gold deposits within the Fraser River and Thompson River districts, known as the Couteau Region, and stated that

all persons who shall take from any lands in said districts any gold, metal or ore containing gold, or who shall dig for and disturb the soil in search

(1) Gold Discovery Papers, P. 9.
Cf. Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, Vancouver, 1914, II, P. 46.
Cf. Sage, W. N., Sir James Douglas and British Columbia, PP. 206-207 (hereafter referred to as Sage, James Douglas). Gold was first reported to the Colonial Office by Douglas on April 16, 1856. (Speeches of Edward Lord Lytton, Edinburgh and London, 1874, Vol. II, P. 79).
(Hereafter cited as Lytton's Speeches)

for gold, metal or ore without having duly authorized in that behalf Her Majesty's Colonial Government, will be prosecuted, both criminally and civilly, as the law allows. (2)

The same licence was demanded of British as well as American or 'subjects of any other government'. No distinction was made as regards nationality or colour. (3)

In August, 1858, Governor Douglas requested from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, military protection for the young colony of British Columbia which was being precipitated into life by a reckless horde of seekers, attracted by the lure of gold, from all corners of the earth.

The first group of miners arrived in Victoria on April 25, 1858. They numbered 495. Of these Governor Douglas said, "They are represented as being with some exceptions a specimen of the worst of the population of San Francisco - the very dregs, in fact, of society". All trades, nationalities, and conditions were represented. (4)

By every known route and every mode of conveyance

(2) Scholefield and Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress - British Columbia, Vancouver, 1913, Part I, P. 139. (Part I Scholefield, Part II Gosnell)

(3) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 15. Cf. Lytton's Speeches, Vol. II, P. 80.

(4) Howay, F. W., The Work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, Victoria, 1910, P. 1.

this influx of men poured into the new country. Some came by sea, some followed the coast by land, while others attempted to reach the fields through the difficult mountain passes of the interior. By the middle of July the number exceeded (5) 30,000. Reverend R. C. Lundin Brown in his essay on British Columbia says, "Never in the migration of men had there been seen such a rush, so sudden and so vast" (6).

The mainland of British Columbia was at this time an unorganized territory known vaguely as the Indian Territory or as New Caledonia. Roughly it included the land lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, and between the 49th degree of latitude and the sources of the Fraser River. It also included the Queen Charlotte Islands. Its length was about 420 miles and it had an average width of (7) from 200 to 300 miles. The computed area was 'somewhat' over (8) 200,000 square miles.

This vast country was held by the Hudson's Bay

(5) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 1.

(6) Brown, R. C. Lundin, British Columbia - An Essay, New Westminster, 1863, P. 3.

(7) Ballantyne, Robert M., Handbook to the New Gold Fields, Edinburgh, 1858, P. 12.

(8) Lytton's Speeches, Vol. II, P. 78.
 Cf. The Times, London, July 9, 1858.
 Cf. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, 1849-1864, London, July 12, 1858 (Government of New Caledonia Bill). (Hereafter referred to as Hansard).

Company, which had exclusive trade with the Indians under the licence of 1838. Judge Howay gives a good description of the country at this time.

About a score of forts, or trading posts, of the Company, separated in most instances by hundreds of miles, were the only evidences of civilization; hunting, trapping and trading, the only occupations; beaver-skins, the only money; the natural waterways, the Indians and brigade trails, the only means of communication; semblance of the club and the fang was the arbiter in all disputes. (9)

By virtue of the Act of 1821 the courts of Upper Canada had jurisdiction over all cases, civil and criminal,
(10)
arising in this region.

James Douglas, the governor of Vancouver Island, was also the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies, and as such viewed with alarm any great influx of immigration. By nature he was an autocrat and ruled with a firm hand. However, he knew from a similar experience in the Queen Charlotte Islands that the Home Government would not attempt to exclude foreigners from the gold region. Thus
(11)
on May 8, 1858, he suggested to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, that a middle course be pursued - the miners were to be

(9) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 1.

(10) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 25.

(11) ibid., P. 26.

allowed to enter the territory but were not to interfere with the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. Acting upon his own authority, on the same date, he issued a proclamation forbidding all persons, except those connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, to trade with the Indians in the British possessions on the northwest coast and declared that 14 days after date all boats that did not have a licence from the Hudson's Bay Company and a 'sufferance' from Victoria would be seized.⁽¹²⁾ It is evident that at this time Douglas was primarily interested in the welfare of the Hudson's Bay Company and the rules and regulations he issued to protect it made him unpopular. As a consequence the rules were evaded wherever and whenever possible.

However, on July 1, 1858, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton made it clear that no restrictions were to be placed on miners entering the gold fields or on free trade. He stated:

while Her Majesty's Government are determined on pressing the rights, both of government and of commerce, which belong to this country, and while they have it in contemplation to furnish you with such a force as they may be able to detach for

(12) Proclamation of May 8, 1858, enclosed in Douglas to Stanley, May 19, 1858 in Imperial Blue Book, Papers Relating to Affairs of British Columbia, Part I, P. 12. (Hereafter cited as B. C. Papers).
 Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 213.
 Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 25.

your assistance and support in the preservation of law and order, it is no part of their policy to exclude Americans and other foreigners from the gold fields. On the contrary, you are distinctly instructed to oppose no obstacle whatever to their resort thither for the purpose of digging in those fields, so long as they submit themselves, in common with the subjects of Her Majesty, to the recognition of Her authority, and conform to such rules of police as you may have thought proper to establish. (13)

Again, on July 16, Lytton pointed out clearly that the Hudson's Bay Company under its existing licence was entitled only to the exclusive trade with the Indians and possessed
(14)
no other rights or privileges.

Through the very full reports sent to the Colonial Office by Douglas, Lytton seemed able to grasp existing conditions with an amazing comprehension and realized to the fullest extent that the new found Eldorado should be at once freed from the Hudson's Bay Company, and immediately organized, and that restraints of law and order should be placed upon these seekers of gold. His mind was imaginative and his vision clear. On July 8, 1858, he introduced in the House of
(15)
Commons a bill to provide for the government of New Caledonia.

(13) Gold Discovery Papers, P. 17.

(14) B. C. Papers, I, P. 42. (Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858).
Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 30.
Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 214.

(15) Lytton's Speeches, II, PP. 76-87.

While the bill was passing through Parliament Queen Victoria, herself, named the new colony British Columbia. On August 2, 1858, the act came into force. This act defined the boundaries of British Columbia, empowered the Governor to make laws for the government of the colony, with a provision for the establishment of a Local Legislature, and repealed the jurisdiction of courts of Upper Canada over actions and prosecutions arising in the new colony.

In the meantime, Douglas, being the nearest representative of the Crown, was by a confidential letter sent by Sir E. B. Lytton, dated July 16, 1858, 'authorized under the necessity of the case' to perform the duties of Governor of the unorganized territory until the organic act should be passed.

On September 2, 1858, the licence of exclusive Indian trade, granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, was revoked so far as British Columbia was concerned and the Company's

(16) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 45. (Lytton to Douglas, July 31, 1858).

(17) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 49.
Cf. Coats and Gosnell, Sir James Douglas, Toronto, 1909, P. 229.

(18) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, PP. 49-50.

(19) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 42. (Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858).

(20) Coats and Gosnell, op. cit., P. 229.

rights on Vancouver Island were repurchased by the government. Soon after this, in compliance with Lytton's request, Douglas severed all connection with the Hudson's Bay Company and with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. (21)

In an extended series of despatches sent to Douglas during July and August, 1858, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton set forth the principles by which the new colony was to be guided. The entire function of government and legislation was to be placed in the hands of Douglas but it was recommended that a council to which foreigners as well as British subjects might be eligible, should be formed. Representative institutions were to be adopted as soon as possible. This gave extraordinary powers to a governor who by nature and training was autocratic. The council formed was purely advisory; democratic organization was never considered.

The new colony was to be self-supporting and great stress was laid upon the necessity of economy. Lytton did not approve of a tax on mining but suggested a tax be placed on the export of gold as well as moderate duties on articles usually taxed, such as beer and wine. The sale of public lands was to be the main source of revenue. This revenue was

(21) Douglas to Lytton, October 4, 1858. (Provincial Archives) Cf. Sage, Walter N., The Critical Period in British Columbia History, The Pacific Historical Review, Glendale, California, 1932, I, P. 425.
Cf. B. C. Papers, I, July and August 1858. Passim.
Cf. Lytton's Speeches, II, P. 83.

to be expended on the preservation of order, construction of roads, surveying of townsites and agricultural lands and the payment of necessary officers to the colony. Of these instructions Douglas carried out those which he himself thought advisable. (22)

With the wild rush to the new gold fields Douglas felt the inadequacy of military support in the colony. Thus, on August 16, 1858, he wrote to the Colonial Office as follows:

The affairs of Government might be carried on smoothly with even a single company of infantry; but at present I must, under Providence, depend in a great measure on personal influence and management; a position inconsistent with the dignity of the Queen's Government.

I therefore trust that you will take our case into consideration, and direct such reinforcements to be sent to this country as Her Majesty's Government may deem necessary. (23)

At this time there were at Esquimalt several British war vessels. The 'Satellite', with Captain Prevost, was officially on the boundary commission, and the 'Plumper', with Captain Richards, was making surveys of the coast and defining the islands in the Gulf of Georgia. Admiral Baynes had also arrived in the 'Ganges' which was accompanied by the

(22) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, PP. 46-76. Passim. (Lytton to Douglas).

(23) ibid., Pt. I, PP. 27, 28. (Douglas to Stanley, August 19, 1858).

'Tribune'. The 'Beaver' and the 'Otter' belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company were also available. Although these vessels were sufficient for coast defence, Douglas felt that an extra force was needed for service in the interior. (24)

Letters sent to Rear-Admiral Baynes, Lord Stanley, and Sir E. B. Lytton in May and June, 1858, show that Douglas was convinced that 'not only Fraser's River and its tributary streams, but also the whole country situated to the eastward of the Gulf of Georgia, as far north as Johnstone's Straits, is one continued bed of gold' but also that he expected 'an influx of 20,000 to 30,000 people in the course of a few months'. (25) The anticipation of this worried him and he felt in need of military assistance. However, before Douglas's plea for further protection had reached England, Sir. E. B. Lytton was aware of the need and had in his speech on the British Columbia Act, July 8, 1858, said:

I have shown, I trust, the necessity of an immediate measure to secure this promising and noble territory from becoming the scene of turbulent disorder, and place over the fierce passions which spring from the hunger of gold the restraints of established law. (26)

(24) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, PP. 27-28. (Douglas to Stanley, August 19, 1858).

(25) ibid., PP. 14-27.

(26) Lytton's Speeches, II, P. 85.

On July 30, Lytton notified Douglas that he proposed sending to British Columbia by the earliest opportunity, an officer of the Royal Engineers with two or three subalterns (27) and a company of 150 miners and sappers. In a letter dated the following day, he explained what he considered would be the duties of these Royal Engineers.

It will devolve upon them to survey those parts of the country which may be considered most suitable for settlement, to mark out allotments of land for public purposes, to suggest a site for the seat of government, to point out where roads should be made, and to render you such assistance as may be in their power, on the distinct understanding, however, that this force is to be maintained at the Imperial cost for only a limited period, and that, if required afterwards, the Colony will have to defray the expense thereof. I have to add, that I am of opinion that it will be reasonable and proper that the expense of the survey of all allotments of land to private individuals should be included in the price which the purchaser will have to pay for his property.

I shall endeavour to secure, if possible, the services of an officer in command of the Engineers who will be capable of reporting on the value of the mineral resources. This force is sent for scientific and practical purposes, and not solely for military objects. As little display as possible should, therefore, be made of it. Its mere appearance, if prominently obtruded, might serve to irritate, rather than appease, the mixed population which should be collected in British Columbia. It should be remembered that your real strength lies in the conviction of the emigrants and their interests are identical with

(27) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 44. (Lytton to Douglas, July 30, 1858).

those of the Government, which should be carried on in harmony with and by means of the people of the country. (28)

Again on October 16, 1858, in a very lengthy confidential letter written to Douglas, Lytton explains why he selected the Royal Engineers for work to be done in British Columbia. He says:

With regard to your demand for a military force, it is gratifying to me to learn, from your statement that "the affairs of Government might be carried on smoothly with even a single company of infantry", that I had anticipated and indeed exceeded your requirements, by directions given at the earliest moment for sending to the Colony a party of 150 Royal Engineers. The superior discipline and intelligence of this force, which afford ground for expecting that they will be far less likely than ordinary soldiers of the line to yield to the temptation to desertion offered by the gold fields, and their capacity at once to provide for themselves in a country without habitation, appear to me to render them especially suited for this duty; whilst by their services as pioneers in the work of civilization, in opening up the resources of the country, by the construction of roads and bridges, in laying the foundations of a future city or seaport, and in carrying out the numerous engineering works which in the earlier stages of colonization are so essential to the progress and welfare of the community, they will probably not only be preserved from the idleness which may corrupt the discipline of ordinary soldiers, but establish themselves in the popular good-will of the emigrants by the civil benefits it will be in the regular nature of their occupa-

(28) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 45. (Lytton to Douglas, July 31, 1859).

tion to confer. (29)

To Lord Lytton British Columbia owes an enormous debt of gratitude. The man who had the imagination to write 'The Last Days of Pompeii' had also sufficient vision to see a new world in the west. For the formation of the colony, each detail was carefully considered, and each man selected with the greatest care. He was proud of his newly-formed colony and looked upon it as his own special care. Addressing the electors of Hertford, whom he represented in the House of Commons, in September, 1861, he said:

quietly, inoffensively, with no alarm to Europe, no threat to the civilized laws of nations, England has thus annexed from the wilderness, annexed to her Crown, a country larger than England itself, and which, before a quarter of a century is over, will add millions to our national industry in support of the profits of agriculture, the wages of labour, and the interchange of commerce. I am not out of place in thus alluding to that act in my own special administration of which I am most proud . . . and if in future generations my name should be remembered in connections with the commencement of a colony destined, I believe to be the wealthiest of all that now speak our language, it will be as the representative of this county of Hertford . . . (30)

(29) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 69. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).

(30) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 52.
Cf. British Columbian, December 19, 1861.

Chapter 2

To the Northwest Pacific.

Colonel Richard Clement Moody was appointed to the command of the detachment of Royal Engineers to be sent out to the new colony of British Columbia. He also held the position of Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. In selecting Colonel Moody to command the specially selected group of men, Sir E. B. Lytton felt that he had chosen a man whose character and former colonial experience not only fitted him for the responsible position, but also made him a desirable choice for dealing with the settlers and the gold-seekers in the newly-formed colony on the far Pacific coast.

Richard Clement Moody was the second son of Colonel Thomas Moocay, R. E. He was born at Barbados, West Indies, in February 13, 1813. After being educated at private schools and by a tutor at home, he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich to receive instruction in the ordnance survey. He remained there from February, 1827, to December, 1829. After being listed on November 5, 1830, a second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, he served at various stations at home and abroad. He was posted in the ordnance survey in Ireland in the spring of 1832, but on his recovery from illness in 1833 was stationed at Woolwich. In October of the same year he left for St. Vincent, British West Indies, where he remain-

ed for four years. On June 25, 1835 he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. In September, 1837, he was invalided home after an attack of yellow fever and during his sick leave accompanied Sir Charles Felix Smith on a tour of the United States. On his return he was stationed at Devonport. On July 3, 1838, he was appointed professor of fortifications at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. He was then twenty-five of age.

His earliest administrative experience was as first governor of the Falkland Islands in 1841. There had been so much trouble in that forbidding colony that it was "almost in a state of anarchy and the young governor was given exceptional powers which he used with great wisdom and moderation."⁽¹⁾ During his term of office in the Falkland Islands Moody introduced the cultivation of tussac-grass into Great Britain. He gave an account of this in the 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society' and received the society's gold medal for this service. On March 6, 1844, Moody was promoted to the rank of second captain and on August 19, 1847, to that of first captain.

He returned to England from the Falkland Islands in

(1) Dictionary of National Biography, Moody, R. C., Vol. XXXVIII, P. 332.

February, 1849. For nearly a year he was employed on special duty for the Colonial Office. He then spent a year at Chatham, after which he was appointed commanding royal engineer at Newcastle-on-Tyne. While Moody was in the north, a great reservoir at Holmfirth, Yorkshire, burst, destroying both life and property. Moody was employed to report on the accident and to inspect other large reservoirs in the district.

In 1854 he was sent to Malta where he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in January, 1855. However, in May, yellow fever was again the cause of his return to England. He spent his leave this time, travelling in Germany. On November 8, 1855, he was appointed commanding royal engineer in north Britain. Moody was a skilled draughtsman and very interested in architecture. While in Scotland he drew plans for the restoration of Edinburgh Castle. These plans so delighted Lord Panmure, then Secretary of State for War, that Moody was commanded to submit them to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, at Windsor.

On April 28, 1858, Moody was promoted to the rank of brevet-colonel and in the autumn was appointed Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the new colony British Columbia and given the command of the Columbia detachment of Royal Engineers which was being sent out. He was also given

(2) (3)
a dormant commission of lieutenant-governor.

The officers of the Royal Engineers for British Columbia were equally well-chosen and qualified for their duties in the new colony. Captain J. M. Grant, the senior officer, was chosen for his genius in construction, Captain R. M. Parsons, for his expert knowledge of survey, while Captain H. R. Luard, the third officer, was especially adapted for the strictly military part of the work. There were also two subalterns, Lieutenant A. R. Lempriere and H. R. Palmer, and one staff-assistant-surgeon, Dr. J. V. Seddall.

The non-commissioned officers and men were equally well-chosen from a large number of volunteers. The Victoria Gazette stated:

The detachment is composed of picked volunteers, embraces almost every trade and profession - surveyors, draughtsmen, artists, architects, photographers, carpenters, masons,

-
- (2) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 67.
Moody was to hold the 'dormant' commission of Lieutenant Governor as 'the position and experience' point to him. However he was to administer the Government of the colony in the event of the 'death, incapacity, removal or absence from the said colony' of Governor Douglas.
- (3) Information for this biographical sketch was found in
a. Dictionary of National Biography, London, XXXVIII, 332, 333.
b. Wolfenden, Madge, Richard Clement Moody, R. E., Journal of the Department of Public Works, Victoria, 1938, 3, 4.
- (4) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, PP. 63-64. (Enclosure in No. 50. Lytton to Douglas, February 9, 1859).

blacksmiths, painters, miners, etc. - such as only the Royal Engineers can produce. (5)

The London 'Times' speaking of the detachment selected for the new colony stated:

Whenever Her Majesty's Government want a body of skilful, intelligent, and industrious mechanics to perform any task requiring peculiar judgment, energy, and accuracy, such as the arrangement of a great exhibition, the execution of an accurate survey, or even the construction of houses, roads and bridges, in a new colony, they have only to turn to the corps of Royal Engineers, and they find all the material they want. (6)

The Royal Engineers came out to British Columbia in three sections: first, Captain Parsons and twenty men, chiefly surveyors, second, Captain Grant and twelve men, mainly carpenters, third, Captain Luard, with the main body of the detachment. Colonel Moody and the first two divisions came by way of the Panama. The third section, under Captain Luard, came in the famous 'Thames City' around Cape Horn. Each party had an interesting voyage. (7)

The first detachment under Captain Parsons sailed from Southampton on September 2, 1858, in the 'La Platta'. (8)

(5) Victoria Gazette, November 20, 1858.

(6) The Times, London, September 2, 1858.

(7) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, 57.

(8) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, PP. 69, 70. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).

Lytton, himself, went on board and addressed the men, impressing on them the interest he felt in their welfare, and pointing out how very much the success of the colony depended on each one of them and the other members of the detachment.

Colonel Moody, in a long letter sent to Captain Parsons, instructed him carefully and fully as to his duties. He gave instructions concerning the passage out to the new colony, the necessity of 'utmost' economy and the first duties on arrival. He also stated:

You will find the Governor has been very fully instructed in the matter, and for his well-known character for energy and judgment I have no apprehension in my own mind that if you frankly place yourself in unreserved communication with him you will find difficulties quickly mastered.

The main duties you are to keep in view are these.

- I To "House" and feed your party.
- II To prepare for those that are to follow.
When the first duty (I) shall have been effected, and the second (II) be in progress you will after Captain Grant's arrival take his orders for a selection from your
- III party, and you will with them proceed up the "Fraser River" to the first rapids or Falls (if time will admit) and return, making a most careful reconnoissance of both banks, but more especially the North Bank. You will certainly proceed as far as Fort Yale.

. . . I think it would be well for you to draw the attention of the Governor to the circumstance that military considerations of the very gravest importance (seeing the nearness of the Frontier) enter into the question of determining the site of the chief-town and also of the one to be laid out at the entrance of the River. If it is absolutely necessary to commence some occupation at the latter place it should be confined to the north side and I hope the Governor would be able to make it a temporary tenure. At all events the

spots marked on the accompanying chart should be reserved. (9)

Captain Parsons was given charge of several despatches for Governor Douglas. Among them were Douglas' own commission and instruction, an order-in-council empowering him to make provision for the administration of justice and the establishment of all necessary laws, and the Queen's revocation of the Crown grant to the Hudson's Bay Company as far as British Columbia was concerned. Parsons was also given a letter of introduction from the Colonial Office to Douglas. It said:

I need scarcely observe to you that the object for which this officer and his party have been detached to British Columbia is for the exclusive service of that colony. You will, therefore, afford him every assistance in your power for enabling him to commence immediately such operations in it as shall appear to him to be necessary, in anticipation of his commanding officer, Colonel Moody, R. E., who will follow him with as much rapidity as practicable. And I trust that, if Captain Parsons should require the temporary occupation for his party of the trading-posts up the country, which belongs to the Hudson's Bay Company, you will take measures for affording him such accommodation. (10)

It will be noticed in this letter that Captain Parsons and

(9) Moody-Parsons, September 1, 1858. (B. C. Archives - Moody Correspondence). The maps are not available.

(10) Begg, Alexander, History of British Columbia, Toronto, 1894, P. 230.

his party were to be given every assistance possible in carrying out their work. They arrived at Victoria on October 29, 1858. (11)

Captain Grant with the second detachment sailed from Southhampton on board the 'Arato' mail steamer to St. Thomas, then on a branch steamer to Colon, in Central America, and across the Panama. They left England on September 17, 1858, and arrived at Victoria on November 8 of the same year. (12) Besides Captain Grant and the 12 Royal Engineers there were about 18 passengers aboard the 'Arato'. Among them was Captain Chartres Erew, a distinguished police official whom Lytton was sending out to British Columbia as Inspector of the Police. Lytton described him as:

the most experienced and trustworthy person I could select amongst the Irish Constabulary (a body of men peculiarly distinguished for efficiency), to serve as Inspector of the Police, and to carry out your Instructions for the formation of a civil force of that character. (13)

Moody's instructions to Grant were similar to, but shorter, than those sent to Parsons. After instructing him

(11) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 25. (Douglas to Lytton, November 8, 1858).

(12) ibid., Pt. II, P. 26. (Douglas to Lytton, November 9, 1858).

(13) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 70. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).

that expenses must be limited to what was indispensable, he informed him that on his arrival in Victoria he was to take over the command from Captain Parsons, collect building materials for barracks at some suitable place on the Fraser, and procure an 'old roomy craft' that could be towed from place to place, fitted up as a store and even used as a temporary barrack. In connection with this he wrote:

The advantage of such an arrangement being provided at once will be incalculable and it will be of service to the Colonial Governor (for River Police, and Stores etc; etc; etc;) for some years to come. This will be self-evident to his Excellency's well-known Sagacity. (14)

Moody also stressed the importance of a large military reserve at the 'extremity of the North Shore at the entrance of the Fraser River', and one also on the North Shore 'looking down both entrances of the Fraser'. These places were described fully on charts given to Captain Parsons. Both of these sites were to be supplied with a small barrack, store and magazine, quite independent of the chief town, 'wherever it may be'. In closing Moody asked Grant, if time permitted, to examine the ground around the junction of the Fraser and Pitt Rivers and to examine also the

(14) Moody-Parsons, September 1, 1858. (Moody Correspondence, B. C. Archives).

best route 'from that point to the deep inlet northwards'.
(This is likely Burrard Inlet. The chart mentioned by Moody is not available.)

In reading the instructions to both Parsons and Grant many interesting facts are revealed. The first, is
(15)
Moody's own desire to economize. This is mentioned because Douglas continually complained of the money spent by the Royal Engineers. These complaints were a source of considerable worry to Colonel Moody. Further it is shown that Colonel Moody was familiar with the geography of the country to which he was going. However, he over-estimated the military reserve necessary to protect the colony but this possibly was the result of despatches sent from Douglas and directions from
(16)
Sir E. B. Lytton. Moody also indicated his respect for Douglas and took for granted that he would be free to carry on his work in the new colony as he thought best. These points are interesting in that they demonstrate such a contrast between that which Moody expected and that which he

(15) In instructing his officers Moody repeatedly told them to 'embrace the following conditions' (1) Rapidity of execution (2) Economy (Royal Engineers, Letter Book, 3. PP. 166-167, February 3, 1860).

(16) One should remember the "scare" in Vancouver Island in 1854 at the outbreak of the Crimean War.

received at the hands of Governor Douglas.

Colonel Moody, accompanied by his wife and four children, also travelled by the Panama route. They left England on October 30, 1858, on the 'Asia' and sailed up the west coast on the 'Sonora', arriving in Victoria on December 25, 1858. Accompanying Colonel Moody were W. Driscoll Gosset, treasurer of British Columbia, and B. Crickmer, later chaplain at Yale.

The main body of the Royal Engineers sailed from 'Gravesend' on October 30, 1858, and from the 'Downs' a week later, on the clipper ship, 'Thames City', commanded by Captain Glover. This last detachment consisted of the two subalterns, Lieutenant H. S. Palmer and Lieutenant A. H. Lempriere, the staff-assistant surgeon, J. V. Seddall, 118 non-commissioned officers and men, 31 women and 34 children - the whole under the command of Captain H. R. Luard. They travelled by way of Cape Horn and arrived at Esquimalt on April 12, 1859 - the trip having taken almost six months. This journey was one of the longest ever taken by Royal Engineers.

(17) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 70 (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).

(18) Sage, James Douglas, P. 232.

(19) Bancroft, H. H., History of British Columbia, 1792-1887, San Francisco, XXXII, P. 407.

(20)

As the voyage of the 'Thames City' is so well known on the coast of British Columbia and its memory so dear to many in the province, it cannot be passed over without a word of comment. Mr. George Green, in an able and picturesque fashion described this vessel and its trip out to British Columbia, in an article in 'The Vancouver Province' commemorating the eightieth year since her arrival.

The weatherstained sails now being furled, had wafted the vessel over 17,000 miles, across the trackless wastes of two oceans, averaging $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. She was of 557 tons burden, clipper-built, with sharp lines and carrying a considerable spread of canvas. A square-rigged three-master with skysail yards, she was classed among the best sailing vessels afloat. Her owner was Henry Roundthwaite of Sunderland. (21)

The ship made just two stops. The first was at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, where Colonel Moody had been Governor. Here fresh meat and provisions were taken on; an abundance of wild geese and ducks formed a welcome change in diet from the usual hardtack, salt pork, salt beef, few vegetables and 'preserved' milk. Two weeks of 'lovely gossip' and 'cosy' cups of tea shared with the residents of the town made a delightful break in the voyage. Indeed such an enjoyable time was spent that

(20) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Town Chronicle, Victoria, 1907. (Wolfenden's address included). No pages cited.

(21) Vancouver Province, April 17, 1938.

many of the passengers had to be hoisted aboard with ropes and pulleys when the time for departure arrived. After a stormy passage, 'with heavy gales and mountainous waves', rain, sleet and snow, Cape Horn was rounded. The second stop for four days at Valparaiso, could not be compared with that at Port Stanley. The 'Chilians', as usual, were occupied with a revolution and for this reason, and others, nearly all the shore leaves were denied.

According to the Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette five children were born on the voyage. One was the daughter of Sergeant Jonathan Morey, who was called Marina Glover Morey "in honor of the domain of Neptune, which covers three-fourths of the globe's surface, over which for three months they had been travelling, and were yet to traverse for a longer period; and in recognition of the kindly solicitude and fatherly care bestowed by the ship's commander, Captain Glover who, being childless embraced all the company in his beneficent oversight." (22) The elder sister of this child, at time aged two, and also a passenger on the 'Thames City', is Mrs. James Wardle, now living at 2406 West Sixth Avenue, Vancouver. Another child born was a son to Sapper Linn, after whom Lynn Creek is named. John Murray, the present game warden and constable at

(22) Vancouver Province, Article by George Green, April 18, 1938.

Port Moody, was born off the coast of Mexico. He was the son of Sapper Murray. A son was also born to Sapper Walsh. In the midst of the tornado while the 'Thames City' was rounding Cape Horn another child was born but both it and its mother were buried at sea.

Mr. John Scales, now living in Vancouver, was four years old when he made the famous trip. He says he has vivid recollections of the whole voyage and recalls especially the pranks that the Royal Engineers played on each other when crossing the equator.
(23)

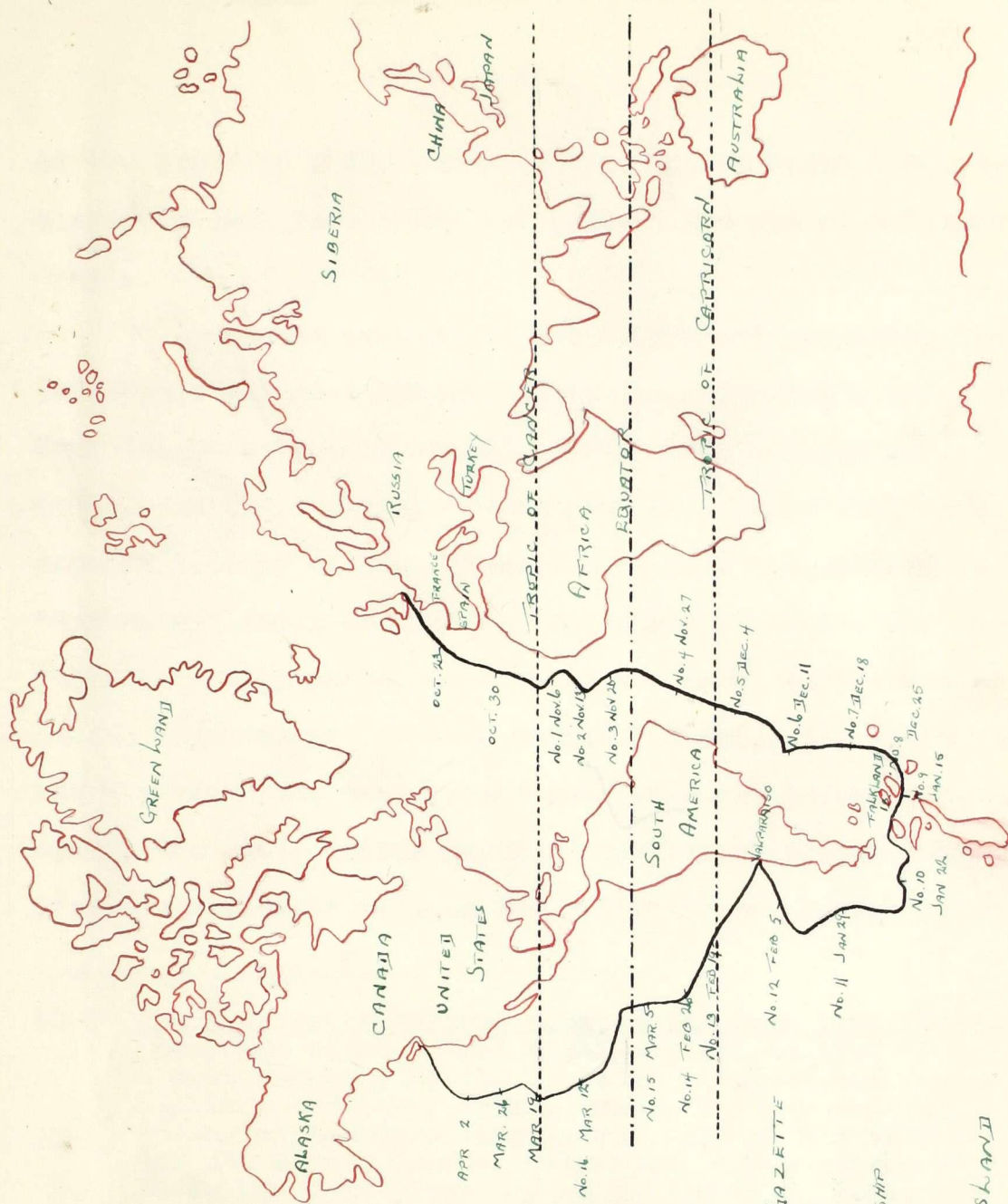
Quite an organized society sprang into being on the 'City'. A voluntary theatrical troupe, headed by Richard Wolfenden, late Lieutenant Colonel Wolfenden, King's Printer at Victoria, provided ample entertainment. A brass band served as an excellent orchestra. Balls, concerts, and various other forms of amusement were arranged, for which John Henry Scales (father of John Scales mentioned above) acted as master of ceremonies. [Surely John Henry was son of John not father]

Owing to the kindness and foresight of Captain Marsh, R. E., a paper, known as 'The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle' was published. This paper, while

away many hours of loneliness and monotony, was edited by Second Corporal Charles Sinnett, assisted by Lieutenant H. S. Palmer and "published at the Editor's Office, Starboard Front Cabin, Thames City." Published in manuscript form it was read aloud to the assembled company every Saturday night - the day of publication - by the commanding officer, Captain H. R. Luard. In all there were 17 issues, each showing the resourcefulness and versatility of the members of the corps. It contained correspondence on almost every conceivable subject, science - including the natural history of the voyage - a record of each day's run, naval and military intelligence, births, deaths, poetry, songs, charades, jokes, conundrums and even advertisements. A complete article was printed stating the duties and work expected of the Royal Engineers on their arrival in
(24)
British Columbia.

The original manuscript, written in Sinnett's handwriting is filed in the archives Victoria. Soon after the arrival of the Corps at New Westminster, the paper was published by John Robson, editor of the 'Columbian'. This edition being unattainable, the Provincial Government reprint-

(24) The 'Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette' has been referred to at such length because it, in itself, is an interesting and entertaining paper and also because it is an important historical document relating to the detachment of Royal Engineers sent out to British Columbia.



ed the paper in 1907, bound it most attractively and presented a copy to each person who had crossed the ocean in the 'Thames City'.
(25)

A large portion of the stores and provision for the detachment was sent out in the barque, 'Briseis', which sailed from the Downs on October 27, 1858. Four married men of the corps, and their wives, under Corporal William Hall, had
(26)
planned to sail on the 'Briseis' but were transferred to the 'Euphrates' owing to insufficient accommodation after the 'Briseis' had been loaded. Those who were transferred sailed on the 'Euphrates' included Sergeant Rylatt, the storekeeper and his wife, and Mrs. James Keary with her infant son, W. H. Keary, who later became mayor of New Westminster. This
(27)
proved a fortunate move as the 'Briseis' was burned at sea,

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- (25) The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Town Chronicle. (no pages cited). This highly-prized edition contained a complete copy of the gazette; a map of the course; pictures of Moody, Grant, Luard, Parsons and Seddall; a view of the Royal Engineers' camp at New Westminster, and St. Mary's Church, Sapperton; a fac-simile of the 20 dollar gold piece coined at the B. C. Mint, New Westminster; an addenda by Lieutenant Colonel R. Wolfenden, and a complete list of Royal Engineers sent out to British Columbia.
- (26) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 70. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 3.
- (27) Lands and Works Department, Victoria, Letter Book I, 1859, April 13, 49.

(28)
and goods valued at £114.12.8 were lost. The passengers and
had great difficulty in reaching safety. The supplies sent
on the 'Euphrates' sailed from London on January 2, 1859, and
(29)
arrived in Victoria on June 27, 1859.

It is important to realize that the party sent out
to British Columbia was not merely one of the forty companies
into which the Royal Engineers were at the time divided. It
was a specially selected group, chosen by Sir E. B. Lytton,
from a large number of volunteers, for the specific service
that each might render to this new colony that had so quickly
sprung into being.

In a letter sent on October 16, 1858, Lytton informed
Douglas of the military assistance he was sending him and
the use to which it was to be put. One point stressed was the
opinion that the men were not to be used for the collection of
revenues. He also stated:

A military force should be considered pri-

(28) Pro. Co. 60.5. Moody - Colonial Office, July 19, 1859.
Cf. Ferguson, H., The Development of Communications in
British Columbia. (Unpublished thesis in University of
British Columbia library. Hereafter cited as 'Ferguson,
Thesis').

(29) H. C. Panara, Pt. I, p. 70.

marily as intended for the purpose of resisting foreign aggression. Its employment in the internal control of the community must be regarded as strictly subsidiary to the ordinary means of enforcing obedience to the orders of the civil power, and should be resorted to only when those means have, through unexpected circumstances, been found insufficient. (30)

In the same letter Lytton emphasized the importance of a well organized and effective police force.

I have sent you, (he said) under Colonel Moody, a few practised and skilful men for cavalry and artillery drill, who are intended to form a nucleus and framework in the Colony itself for such additional military force as may be required. (31)

(30) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 70. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858).

(31) ibid., P. 70.

Chapter 3

Moody's Commission.

Before Colonel Moody sailed for British Columbia, he was given explicit instructions regarding his work both as commanding officer of the Royal Engineers and as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. In order that there be no misunderstanding as to the nature of his office and its relation to that of the governor, his instructions were very definite.

It is to be distinctly understood.

- I That the Governor is the supreme authority in the Colony. That you will concert with him, and take his orders as to the spots in the Colony to which your attention as to surveys, etc., should be immediately and principally directed. That you will advise and render him all the assistance in your power, in the difficult situation in which it is probable that he will be placed for some time.
 - II The Governor will be instructed to regard your duties as special, and that they are not on any account to be interfered with, except under circumstances of gravest necessity, so that all possible conflict of duties may be avoided. On this point Sir Edward feels persuaded that your character and Colonial experience are sufficient guarantees against any discordance with the Governor . . .
 - III The Governor will be authorized to draw upon the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the payment of the expenses attending the surveying party under your orders, if he should have no funds immediately at hand in the Colony for the purpose. You will, therefore, address your requisitions for money to him, if it should be necessary. At the same time it is well to understand that Her Majesty's Government count on the immediate raising of large Revenues from the land
-

sales and other resources of the Colony. It is well to understand that her Majesty's Government count on the immediate raising of large revenues from the land sales and other resources of the Colony, sufficient to defray from the outset the expenses of the survey and of all others except the salary of the Governor. And you will afford the Governor, through without shackling his discretion, the benefit of your talents and experience in any suggestions for ensuring at the earliest period this paramount object. . .

- V It is agreed that you shall remain in the Colony one year from the date of your arrival, and that you will not quit it unless you are satisfied that the officer you leave in charge is fully competent to the work before him, and that the public service is not prejudiced by your return to England. Should you desire to stay longer for the execution of works in which you are actively engaged, and to which you consider your presence essential, you will communicate that wish to her Majesty's Government. You will make it your care to furnish this Department from time to time with full reports of the various resources and capabilities of the Colony, according to the information which the exercise of your functions will necessarily give you, and with a view to the development of the social and industrial prosperity and welfare of the Colony - its mines, its fisheries, the quality of its coal, the nature of the soil, the maritime approaches to the Colony, if held distinct from the island.

These reports will be sent to this department through the governor. (1)

A copy of these instructions was sent to Douglas.

In a letter from Lytton dated October 29, 1858, Moody received further orders. With regard to the military

(1) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 55. (This despatch to Colonel Moody signed by H. Merivale, August 23, 1858). Enclosure 5 in Despatch No. 16. (No. 16 - Lytton to Douglas, September 2, 1858).

employment of the Royal Engineers great discretion was to be used and again the opinion was expressed that military duty was to be extended to foreign aggression only.

No soldiers (wrote Lytton) are likely to be so popular as Royal Engineers; partly, let me hope, from their own military discipline and good conduct; partly from the very respectable class they represent; partly from the civil nature of their duties in clearing the ready way for civilization. Thus, if not ostentatiously setting forth its purely military character, the force at your command will nevertheless, whenever the occasion may need its demonstration, do its duty as soldiers no less than as surveyors. . . (2)

Referring to the respective duties of Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody, Lytton stated:

Whilst I feel assured that the Governor will receive with all attention the counsel or suggestions which your military and scientific experience so well fit you to offer, I would be distinctly understood when I say that he is, not merely in a civil point of view, the first magistrate in the State, but that I feel it to be essential for the public interests that all powers and responsibilities should centre in him exclusively. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the prosperity of the Colony than a conflict between the principal officers of Government. (3)

In regard to civil duties -

. . . commence operations necessary for the land sales, by which the expenses of the survey are to

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- (2) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 73. (Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858). (Enclosure).
- (3) ibid., P. 74.

be defrayed. You will consult with the Governor as to the choice of sites for a maritime town, probably at the mouth of Fraser's River and for any more inland. Capitals to which the circumstances of the territory will suggest the most appropriate site. You will not fail to regard with a military eye the best position for such towns and cities, as well as for the engineering of roads and passes, of the laying the foundations of any public works. (4)

After suggesting that the upset price for lots include the price of survey, Lytton again instructed Moody to note the harbours, to report on gold and other minerals, to note fishing possibilities and the resources in timber and to test the soil, and state to what extent it was favourable to agriculture. As for cultural benefits Lytton stated:

. . . I anticipate no small advantage towards stamping our native idiosyncracies on a Colony which may comprise so many foreigners, and promoting a high social standard of civilization from the fact that yourself and your brother officers are amongst its practical founders, and cannot fail by the native of the civil services you render to be brought into frequent and friendly communication with all classes of settlers. (5)

Lytton was also anxious to have representative institutions in the Colony of British Columbia as soon as possible.

(4) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 74 (Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858). (Enclosure in Despatch No. 33).

(5) ibid., P. 75.

I have already explained to you personally (as I have informed the Governor), that it is my desire to see established in British Columbia as early as the state of society will permit free Representative Institutions. (6)

Lytton also instructed Moody to make reports:

. . . as the result of your own unbiased opinions, as to the nature, habits, and conditions of the immigrant population, the degree to which education exists, the probabilities of settled residents, and cultivators of the soil, as distinct from casual adventurers, on the inhabitants of a seaport town; with such remark, confidentially given, as may guide the judgment of Her Majesty's Government in the framework of a constitution which will secure tranquillity and order as the only genuine safeguards of popular freedom. These reports with any other you may remit, will be sent, of course, through the governor. (7)

In this letter, as well as the one dated August 23, it is important to note that the tremendous amount of work that Lytton expected Moody to accomplish in the new land. Douglas also received instructions from Lytton what his powers as governor would be:

You will be empowered both to govern and to legislate of your own authority; but you will distinctly understand that this is a temporary measure only. It is the anxious wish of Her Majesty's Government that popular institutions,

(6) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 76 (Lytton to Moody, October 29, 1858). (Enclosure in Despatch No. 33).

(7) ibid., P. 76.

without which they are convinced peace and order cannot long prevail, should be established with as little delay as practicable; and until an Assembly can be organized (which may be whenever a permanent population, however small, is established on the soil), I think, as I have already stated in a former despatch, that your best course will probably be to form some kind of temporary council, calling in this manner to your aid such persons as the miners themselves may place confidence in. (8)

Douglas seems to have been pleased with the appointment of the Royal Engineers as is evident in a letter sent to Sir E. B. Lytton on November 4, 1858, wherein he states:

Colonel Moody's appointment to the office of Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works will relieve me of much responsibility, and I look forward with satisfaction to the period of his arrival and the commencement of those useful labours which will tend so much to the advantage and development of the new Colony. (9)

The composition of the force and the rates of pay and allowances as planned for the officers and the men are given in
(10)
the appendices.

The total force of Royal Engineers, including both officers and men, was intended to have been 156. However, a surgeon and hospital orderly, a sergeant and corporal each

(8) Begg, op. cit., pp. 227-228.

(9) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 21 (Douglas to Lytton, November 4, 1858).

(10) Appendix I, A, B.

from the Royal Artillery and the Fifteenth Hussars, and three extra sappers, absorbed by the detachment, increased the number to 165. (11)

Many other appointments were made at this time - some by Sir E. B. Lytton, others by Governor Douglas. In regard to officers, Douglas was to make his selections, as far as possible in England, it being regarded as of

great importance to the general social welfare and dignity of the colony that gentlemen should be encouraged to come from this kingdom, not as mere adventurers seeking employment but in the hope of obtaining professional occupations for which they are calculated; such for instance as stipendiary magistrates, or gold commissioners. (12)

No favouritism was to be given to employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Matthew Baillie Begbie was appointed judge of British Columbia; W. Wymond Hamley, collector of customs, and Chartres Brew, chief of the constabulary. The office of colonial secretary was held by W. A. G. Young, and that of treasurer by W. D. Gossett. Travaillet and Hicks were appointed assistant commissioners of Crown Lands at Thompson River and Yale, (13)

(11) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, appendix. (no page cited).

(12) Coats and Cosnell, op. cit., P. 240.

(13) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 51.

(14) ibid., P. 54.

respectively; W. H. Bevis became revenue officer at Langley. Joseph Despard Pemberton, surveyor-general of Vancouver Island, acted in that capacity for a time in the new colony.

By June 30, 1859, Douglas had recommended many officers with whom Moody was in constant contact. Nearly every name has passed into the history of the province. W. R. Spalding was appointed to the position of stipendiary magistrate and justice of peace of Queenborough; Peter O'Reilly, Thomas Elwyn and H. M. Ball held the same offices at Langley, Lillooet and Lytton, respectively. Charles S. Nicoll became high sheriff at Port Douglas; P. H. Sanders, assistant gold commissioner at Fort Yale; Charles Good, chief clerk in the colonial secretary's office; John Cooper, chief clerk of the treasury; W. H. McCrea, chief clerk in the Custom House; A. I. x T. Bushby, registrar of the Supreme Court; and Charles Wylde, revenue officer at Langley.

In New Westminster, besides the treasurer, W. D. Gosset, there resided F. G. Claudet, assayer and C. A. Bacon, melter. Douglas, holding the double office of governor of

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- (15) Reid, R. L., The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint at New Westminster, Victoria, 1926. (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir VII - has the best information on Gosset). The other people referred to can be found in:
 (1) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., passim.
 (2) Sage, Sir James Douglas, passim.
 Cf. Appendix V D.

both colonies, resided at Victoria. These were the officers among whom Colonel Moody worked.

Chapter 4

The New Land.

At the time of the arrival of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, the colony was still one vast wilderness. Law and order had to be enforced; revenue, raised and collected; the country explored and developed, and roads, trails and bridges constructed. The entire sea-board of the colony was forest, separated from the interior by vast mountain ranges.

The Fraser River, the great artery of the country, was difficult to navigate. The winding channel and shifting banks and shoals at its mouth made it difficult for larger vessels to enter. However, once inside the bar the river was navigable for all boats as far as Langley which was 32 miles from its mouth, and as far as Fort Hope (40 miles above that)
(1)
for flat-bottomed boats. Some boats even reached Fort Yale
(2)
13 miles above Fort Hope.

Up to the time of the gold rush the Hudson's Bay

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- (1) MacDonald, D. G. F., British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, London, 1862, P. 6. MacDonald had just previously been on the Government Survey Staff of British Columbia and of the International Boundary Line of North America. He helped to lay out the City of New Westminster and spoke highly of Colonel Moody.
- (2) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 32.

Company was the only recognized authority in the whole area.

⁽³⁾
¹⁷ They had established some 13 posts at strategic points for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indians. The first one, situated at Fort Langley, was one of the most important, being a supply centre. Trading posts were also established at Fort Hope, and at Fort Yale. At each post the company had occupied land not only for the forts themselves, but also for the production of crops and for the pasturage of a large number of horses. However, when the licence of the Hudson's Bay Company to carry on exclusive trade with the Indians was revoked, the whole question of the possession of the lands had to be reported on by Colonel Moody.⁽⁴⁾

Before the gold rush the white population was practically negligible. With the exception of a few men engaged in the naval supply trade and the growing of agriculture the 600 were engaged directly or indirectly with the fur trade.⁽⁵⁾

In 1861 Governor Douglas estimated "an Indian population exceeding 20,000."⁽⁶⁾ In reference to these Indians,

(3) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 17.

(4) Laing, Hudson's Bay Company Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia, 1858-1861. (British Columbia Historical Quarterly, April, 1939, pp. 75-99).

(5) Sage, James Douglas, P. 138.

(6) Douglas-Newcastle, April 22, 1861. (Despatches to Downing Street).

A. C. Anderson says:

(They) are ingenious and thrifty and having said this is about all I can say in their favour. They are, however, not indisposed towards whites, and considerately treated, will doubtless remain so. (7)

There were two distinct lines of approach to the mines at this time. The more direct route was by the Fraser River; the other route followed the Columbia River and the Dalles and from thence by means of pack animals over Indian trails and former trails of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(8)
In the spring of 1858, not less than 30,000 miners had rushed to the new gold fields. However by the end of the summer season scarcely more than 4,000 remained. In October another influx occurred but it was comparatively small.

(9)
Thirteen bars, at which some 2,000 to 3,000 men were digging lay between Fort Hope and Fort Yale. Another 700 or 800 were digging at Yale. Above this only the most reckless had

(7) Anderson, A. C., History of the Northwest Coast, MS., Berkeley, California, 1878, P. 20. Anderson had been a chief trader of Hudson's Bay Company.

(8) Ballantyne, Robert M., Handbook to the New Gold Fields, London, 1858, P. 77.
Cf. Coats and Gosnell, op. cit., P. 241.

(9) Coats and Gosnell, op. cit., P. 242.

(10) MacDonald, D. G. F., op. cit., P. 10. MacDonald states the estimated White mining population of British Columbia as follows: 1858 - 17,000, 1859 - 8,000, 1860 - 7,000, 1861 - 5,000 and 1/6 British subjects. Also many Chinese were reported but did not stay long on account of the climate.

forced their way. On the whole acts of lawlessness were in-
(11)
frequent.

Before the arrival of Colonel Moody, Governor Douglas had made three visits to the mainland. The first had taken him to Forts Langley, Hope, and Yale, where he had found many problems to settle. The second one, in the September following his appointment as governor, took him first to Fort Hope and then to Yale. At both places problems dealing with the miners and the Indians were settled; a large number of town lots were leased and justices of peace appointed. The third trip, in the following month, was the occasion of the formal launching of the colony of British Columbia.

For the installation of Governor Douglas into the office of Governor of the new colony a large party proceeded from Victoria to Fort Langley. Governor Douglas was accompanied by Rear-Admiral Baynes, David Cameron - Chief Justice of Vancouver Island, Chief Justice Begbie, of the new colony, and several others. At old Fort Langley (Derby) the 'Otter' disembarked a party of 18 sappers, under the command of Captain Parsons. These embarked on the revenue cutter

(11) The Times, London, February 5, 1862, P. 10.

'Recovery', joining the command of Captain Grant who had previously reached this point with his party of 12 sappers. The next day, November 19, 1859, they were at Fort Langley where they formed a guard of honour, commanded by Captain Grant, to receive his 'Excellency and party as they disembarked from the 'Beaver'. At the historic ceremony several proclamations and appointments were read, the most important being that which named the new colony, British Columbia, and that which appointed Douglas to the office of Governor of British
(12)
Columbia. Captain Grant, Captain Parsons, and the small group of Royal Engineers under their command were therefore present at the ceremonies attending the official birth of the colony of British Columbia.'

After the formal 'launching' of the colony they remained at Derby (housed on the Hudson's Bay Company brigantine 'Recovery') in order that they might proceed with the erection of the necessary buildings for the accommodation of the main body of Royal Engineers, then on its way on the 'Thames City'.

One of the most important points that Governor

(12) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, PP. 34-35. (Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858). Also enclosures 1, 2, 3. Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, PP. 53, 59-60. Old Fort Langley (Derby) was the original site of Fort Langley.

Douglas had to decide at this time was the location of a sea-
 port town or capital for British Columbia. At first Hope was
 (13)
 considered a suitable place but later Douglas selected the
 site of Derby (old Fort Langley, a former establishment of
 the Hudson's Bay Company) about two and one half miles below
 the present town of Fort Langley. In September, 1858, the
 spot had been surveyed into lots by some 'enterprising' per-
 sons from Victoria and would have been sold had not a
 proclamation, forbidding the sale of crown land, been issued.
 Possibly the fact that private individuals had considered the
 site suitable for habitation influenced Douglas in his choice.
 He said, ". . . I was guided in choosing Old Langley as the
 site of a commercial town chiefly by the partiality displayed
 for that spot by the mercantile community of the country,
 whose instincts in such matters are generally unerring."
 (14)
 However another source states, and probably comes nearer the
 truth:

It is possible that the close proximity of a
 large block of lands held in reserve by the Hudson's
 Bay Company may have had something to do with the
 original choice. (15)

(13) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 60.

(14) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 11. (Douglas to Lytton, May
 12, 1859).
 Cf. B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 37. (Douglas to Lytton,
 November 29, 1858).

(15) Coats and Gosnell, op. cit., P. 247.

Douglas himself said that the site possessed great natural advantages for trade, having a good anchorage, 'a cheerful aspect, a surface well adapted for buildings and drainage,' although it had 'the disadvantage of being in part low, and occasionally flooded by the river.'⁽¹⁶⁾ He was ably supported in his choice by J. Despard Pemberton, Surveyor General of Vancouver Island.⁽¹⁷⁾

The whole site covered 900 acres of land. Lots were sold by auction in Victoria on the 25th, 26th and 27th November under the direction of J. D. Pemberton, P. M. Bachus acting as auctioneer.⁽¹⁸⁾ 'About' 342 lots were disposed of aggregating 14,583L 6s 8d (\$66,172.50).⁽¹⁹⁾ Only ten percent had to be paid at the time of the sale.⁽²⁰⁾ In reply to Douglas' report on the choice of Derby and the sale of Langley lots Lytton states:

(16) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 37. (Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858).

(17) Pemberton, J. Despard, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, London, 1860, P. 51.

(18) Victoria Gazette, November 30, 1858.

(19) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, PP. 37-38. (Douglas to Lytton, November 29, 1858). (Also enclosure by Pemberton, P. 38) Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 60. No official letter of Douglas or Pemberton states exact number although Howay and Scholefield gives 343.

(20) Dagget - I. Bowers - to Treasurer of British Columbia, April 18, 1859 (Moody Correspondence, F 1150) Bowers states: Number of lots sold in Langley 205, Paid in - to value \$4155.95.

It has been suggested to me, that supposing the advantages to be in other respects equal, it might have been preferable to place the town on the banks of the river which is furthest from the American frontier . . . On such matters you now have the advantage of consulting Colonel Moody, an engineering officer of great skill and experience. (21)

Prior to the arrival of Colonel Moody several townsites had been laid out. At Port Douglas about 70 lots were
(22)
occupied. At Lytton 50 houses and a population of 900 had
(23)
sprung up. Pemberton had also been sent to lay out townsites
(24)
at Fort Hope and Fort Yale.

By this time Douglas had launched a plan to begin the opening up of the country by means of roads. At Victoria, 500 miners were waiting for transportation to the gold fields. The governor suggested that these should construct a pack trail by way of the chain of lakes from Harrison Lake to the

(21) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 80. (Lytton to Douglas, February 11, 1859).

(22) ibid., P. 46. (Douglas to Lytton, December 24, 1858).

(23) ibid., P. 28. (Douglas to Lytton, November 9, 1858).
The mining population in Fraser's River may be estimated as follows:

From Cornish Bar to Port Yale.....	4,000
Port Yale.....	1,300
Port Hope.....	500
From Port Yale to Lytton.....	300
Lytton.....	900
From Lytton to the Fountain.....	3,000
Port Douglas and Harrison's River.....	600
Total.....	10,600

ibid., P. 29.

(24) ibid., P. 38.

Fraser at Lillooet. Unfortunately the quality of the work did not meet with Douglas' expectations. The expense also was greater than he anticipated.

Harrison's River road (he wrote) is, after an endless deal of trouble and anxiety from the want of honest and able men to carry out the plans of government, fairly open to traffic. (25)

This was Douglas' first experience with untrained road builders in the new colony.

Captain Parson's party was the first to arrive in Victoria but was not the first to enter British Columbia. On November 14, 1858, less than a week after their arrival in Victoria, Captain Grant and his detachment were ordered to proceed immediately on the 'Beaver' to old Fort Langley (Derby). Reporting this Douglas said:

I have advised Captain Grant, . . . to proceed without delay to Fort Langley, Fraser's River, and to put up buildings there for the accommodation of his party and of the other troops expected from England, as by taking those steps I was of opinion he would be carrying out to the letter the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, the instructions of Colonel Moody, his commanding officer, and my own views with respect to the requirements of British Columbia.

Captain Grant coinciding with me in those

(25) Douglas to Lytton, December 24, 1854. (Provincial Archives).

views, it was arranged that the whole detachment of Royal Engineers, should be transported, with all their stores, provisions for four months, and building material for the construction of several wooden houses of respectable size, to Fort Langley, an arrangement which was successfully and at once carried into effect. (26)

Captain Parsons and party accompanied Governor Douglas and the other officials of the new colony who sailed from Victoria for Fort Langley two days later in H. M. S. 'Satellite'.⁽²⁷⁾

Colonel Moody, accompanied by his wife and four children, arrived in Victoria amid the Christmas festivities. Douglas says:

Col. Moody and party arrived here on the 25th, not in time, I regret to say, to take part in our Christmas festivities, which would have been all the gayer for his presence. Our quarters are rather crowded at the moment, in consequence of so many official arrivals, and the want of official residences but we have contrived through the kindness of friends to procure temporary house accommodation for the whole party. (28)

Colonel Moody was almost immediately sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor and Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works for British Columbia and also commander of Her Majesty's land forces in British Columbia and 'Vancouver's Island'.⁽²⁹⁾

(26) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 35-36. (Douglas to Lytton, November 27, 1858).

(27) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 2.

(28) Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 3, (Douglas to Blackwood).

(29) The British Colonist, January 8, 1859, P. 3. Moody held a 'dormant' commission of Lieutenant Governor.

After Moody's inauguration, some citizens of Victoria were under the impression that Governor Douglas merely held an honorary position relative to British Columbia. In a letter to 'The British Colonist' Colonel Moody states his real position:

I serve under His Excellency, Governor Douglas, receive his instructions, and carry out his orders in all matters relating to British Columbia. (30)

Governor Douglas himself, in his early correspondence to Colonel Moody, addressed him as Lieutenant-Governor. This was not Sir E. B. Lytton's wish:

I take this opportunity to notice an inaccuracy into which you have fallen in this despatch in designating Colonel Moody the Lieutenant-Governor. You will observe that it is of importance to bear in mind as his functions in this capacity will commence only in the event of the death or absence of the governor. (31)

After Governor Douglas received this information the polite tone in which he had previously written to Colonel Moody was substituted by one, very curt and at times rude. (32)

(30) The British Colonist, January 8, 1859, P. 2.

(31) Lytton to Douglas, March 21, 1859. (Douglas Correspondence, F 485, Provincial Archives).

(32) When one reads the Douglas-Moody correspondence this change of tone is quite evident and is a marked contrast to the polite and courteous letters sent by Moody to his subordinates. The first 'impatient' letter was written May 16, 1859. (Douglas to Moody, Provincial Archives).

On his arrival in Victoria, Colonel Moody endeavored to procure the use of a building opposite the Fort, hitherto occupied by Dr. Helmcken as an office. Not being able to rent this he did get a small detached house on Yates Street nearly opposite Wells, Fargo and Company's office, for 30 (33) dollars per month. He also bought a house for himself and family. A notice of the sale of this residence appeared in the Weekly Victoria Gazette, on April 28, 1859, soon after the arrival of the 'Thames City'.

After a voyage of 186 days the 'Thames City' arrived at Esquimalt on April 12, 1859. The main body of the Royal Engineers (60 passengers and 50 tons freight) was immediately embarked on the 'Eliza Anderson' and sent forward to the mainland. The 'Beaver' (with 25 passengers and 20 tons of freight) and H. M. S. 'Satellite' transported the remainder. In answer to a letter stating the reason for not sending the troops on the 'Thames City' to Queensborough and Langley as - 'being unwilling to take the risk of sending so large a vessel up the river', Colonel Moody replied:

(33) Letter Book I, Lands and Works Department, April 8 and April 12, 1859, P. 34.

Government officers were prepared to take the vessel up the river, and her captain had agreed to do so, the only difficulty being, that the price he asked for this service was considered by the government officers a little too high. (34)

A notice of the departure of Colonel Moody, on May 16, 1859, for British Columbia, appeared in the 'British Colonist'. He travelled on the 'Beaver' after a salute of 13 guns. The paper stated:

His presence in British Columbia, will, no doubt, be advantageous to that region; and we shall probably hear some good accounts in the way of road-making. Of one thing we are certain, the Colonel will make his officials work. Door-postism and kid-gloverism will not be tolerated. (35)

It was not long before this same paper changed its tone in regard to Moody's work and capabilities.

The greatest need of the colony at this time was communication into the interior. Almost as soon as he arrived, Lieutenant Palmer was sent to survey the Harrison-Lillooet route, while Lieutenant Lempriere and a small party of Engineers explored a new route between Fort Hope and Boston Bar. In the fall, Lieutenant Palmer explored the country

(34) Weekly Victoria Gazette, April 16, 1859, P. 1.

(35) The British Colonist, May 20, 1859.

(36) ibid.
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 6.

between Hope and the Columbia River. During 1859, the Royal Engineers surveyed, besides their new capital, the towns of Yale, Hope and Douglas. They also established an observatory at their camp 'settling its exact position as 49 deg., 12 min., 47 sec. North Latitude, and 122 deg. 53 min. 10 sec. West Longitude.' The transit used by them has been preserved
(37)
by the Provincial Government.

Chapter 5

Military Duties.

Although Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers were chosen for their work in British Columbia because of their military training, they were called upon to perform few military duties. On January 8, 1859, Governor Douglas, writing to Sir Edward Lytton, reported trouble among the miners at Yale. The miners were gaining a bad reputation. Mr. Justice Whannell of Fort Yale also had reported serious opposition in the discharge of his official duties 'from a party of gamblers and refugees from justice' at Hill's Bar. (1)

Colonel Moody had just left Victoria on his first trip to the mainland - intending to visit Langley and choose the site for the capital of British Columbia - when news came to Victoria, from Yale, that a very serious outbreak had occurred. The island was greatly excited. It was rumoured in Langley that both Justice Whannell and his constable had been shot by Ned McGowan, a notorious character who had fled from the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco in 1856, and (2)

(1) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 55. (Douglas to Lytton, January 8, 1859).
Cf. Mayne, R. C., British Columbia and Vancouver Island, London, 1862, P. 59.

(2) January 6, 1859. (The British Colonist, January 8, 1859).

and that the district around Hill's Bar was in open insurrection.
(3)

Moody, not awaiting orders from Governor Douglas, determined to proceed at once to the field of action and left Langley at 11 P.M. on the 'Enterprise'. He was accompanied
(4)
by Captain Grant and 25 Royal Engineers.

Just below Harrison River Moody's party met Ballou's 'express'. Moody was here informed 'that all was quiet at Fort Yale - that there had been a squabble btwn (sic) the justices, and that a public meeting had been called at wch (sic) a "multifarious conglomeration of heterogeneous
(5)
nonsense" had been passed in the shape of resolutions.' Although pleased with this good news, Colonel Moody decided to proceed to Fort Yale in order that he might make further inquiries into the disturbance and gain a personal knowledge of the country.

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- (3) Begbie to Douglas, January 14, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, Victoria, 1926, P. 25) Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., PP. 61-65.
- (4) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, PP. 55-56. (Douglas to Lytton, January 8, 1859). Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 253. Cf. Mayne, op. cit., P. 60.
- (5) Begbie to Douglas, January 14, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 25).

The 'admirable promptitude' with which Colonel Moody acted pleased Governor Douglas. However, anticipating real trouble on the Fraser, the governor secured the aid of Captain Prevost of the Boundary Commission, who, with 100 marines and blue-jackets from H. M. S. 'Satellite', embarked on H. M. S. 'Plumper', under the command of Lieutenant Gooch, for Langley. At Langley the marines were to be transferred to the 'Enterprise' and thence on to Hope. On their arrival at Fort Langley the 'Enterprise' had not returned so Lieutenant Mayne was sent forward by canoe with despatches from Captain Richards informing Moody of the reinforcements at Langley and with orders to bring back instructions. Mayne found Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie, whom Moody had asked to accompany him, at Hope preparing to set out for Yale. (6) (7)

From Fort Hope on January 14, 1859, Colonel Moody wrote to Governor Douglas as follows:

The whole affair is a squabble between two men unfit for the offices they hold, and if it was not for the serious danger such scenes render imminent would be supremely ridiculous. It appears

(6) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, pp. 55-56. (Douglas to Lytton, January 8, 1859).

(7) Begbie to Douglas, January 14, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, pp. 26, 33).

so far that Capt. Whannell from ill directed zeal and extreme want of judgment may at any moment set the whole district in a blaze although inexcusable fault exists on the other side.

We have intelligence of the present good tempers of the miners on the Bars and both Judge Begbie and I believe it to be the best policy to leave the Escort (as we have thought it wise to call the Detachment) here until our return from Fort Yale.

I am very glad Mr. Brew and the gentlemen you name are coming up. We shall be able doubtless to leave affairs on a satisfactory footing. I am also glad that the marines of the 'Plumper' have halted waiting my orders at Langley. We hope to return there on Monday or Tuesday next. . .

This adventure has given me a great deal of valuable information on many important points and will I trust be turned to do good an account as to counterbalance the vexation expense and delay caused by the conduct of these two men Capt. Whannell and Mr. Perrier.

I need scarcely tell you Mr. Begbie's counsel has been most valuable to me. (8)

Mayne reports that Moody was 'rather surprised' with the promptitude with which the Governor had acted in sending reinforcements and was a 'little embarrassed'. He felt that the reports had been greatly exaggerated and that the mining population at Yale had been grossly misrepresented. (9)

The next morning Colonel Moody, Judge Begbie and

(8) Moody to Douglas, Fort Hope, January 14, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence. Letter marked 'private').

(9) Mayne, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

Lieutenant Mayne proceeding to Yale, reached their destination at three. The town was perfectly quiet and Colonel Moody was received with the most 'vociferous cheering and every sign of respect and loyalty'. The next day, being Sunday, Colonel Moody performed in the court house the first public divine service ever held at Yale. Thirty or forty miners attended. (10) After the service an inquiry was made into the disturbance which had brought them there.

Trouble at Yale had been brewing for some time and was the result of jealousy between the resident magistrates at Hill's Bar and Yale. The outrage which precipitated the first military service in the colony took place on Christmas Day, 1858. Burns and Farrell, two American miners from Hill's Bar, had visited Yale and maltreated a negro, named Dixon. Captain Whannell, listening to Dixon's complaint, issued warrants for the arrest of Burns and Farrell who had by this time fled to Hill's Bar. Whannell, at the same time, detained Dixon to prosecute the complaint. The magistrate at Hill's Bar, George Perrier, refused to recognize Whannell's warrant; moreover upon Farrell's complaint he issued a warrant for the

(10) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 63.
 Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 253.
 Cf. Begbie to Douglas, February 3, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 36).
 Cf. Mayne, op. cit., P. 68).

arrest of Dixon and sent his constable, Henry Hickson, to Yale to execute it. Whannell would not give the prosecutor up but demanded that Burns and Farrell should be brought before him. Hickson conducted himself so insolently that Captain Whannell sent him to jail for contempt of court. Perrier, indignant, enraged, and evidently ignorant of his power and authority and the respect due to another magistrate of the peace, issued a warrant for the arrest of Captain Whannell and also a warrant for forcibly taking Dixon out of the jail at Yale and bringing him to Hill's Bar. For the purpose of executing these warrants Mr. Perrier swore in Edward McGowan, and Kelly - who acted as sort of lieutenant to him - and several others as special constables. Edward McGowan and his 'posse' of 20 went to Yale and seized Whannell and the jailer, who refused to release Dixon. They were then taken before Perrier at Hill's Bar. The jailer was discharged as having acted under orders (11) but Captain was fined 25 dollars for contempt of court. Such

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- (11) Begbie to Douglas, February 3, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, PP. 32-41). Many versions, slightly varying, are given. The usual sources are Mayne, R.C., British Columbia and Vancouver Island, and the Victoria 'Colonist'. However letters written by Judge Begbie, Captain Brew, and Colonel Moody to Governor Douglas serve as official reports. Those of Begbie and Brew and one of Colonel Moody's dated Jan. 17, 1859 appear in Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines. Others written by Moody, appear in Moody Correspondence F 1150, Provincial Archives. The account told here is Judge Begbie's version.

were the events prior to the arrival of Colonel Moody and
 Judge Begbie - on the Saturday, January 15, 1859. (12)

Moody and Begbie arrived at Yale with the intention of summoning McGowan and Kelly to answer for the outrage upon Captain Whannell and the breaking open of the jail. However, Perrier was first interviewed and the next day the Governor's despatch announcing his suspension was communicated to him. (13)

What transpired appears in the following letter:

On communicating, however, to Mr. George Perrier your Excellency's order for his suspension from the role of Justice of the Peace, considerable Excitement (sic) arose in the town and Edward McGowan violently assaulted a Dr. Fifer in the street & (sic) the information I received of the state of affairs altogether convinced me that it was hopeless to expect the Law would be respected - I therefore sent Lieut. Mayne, R. N. express to Fort Hope to send up the Detachment of Royal Engineers under Captain Grant and to proceed on in the steamer "Enterprise" to Langley to bring up the Detachments of Royal Marines with the Field-piece party of Seamen.

In accordance with my detailed orders to Captn. Grant, the Detachment arrived this morning after a trying night advance by batteau & marching - Mr. Brew accompanied the Party and also 12

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- (12) Both Perrier and Whannell wrote to Governor Douglas vindicating themselves. These letters are to be found in Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, 1926, PP. 54-55 and PP. 56-57 respectively.
- (13) This was in pursuance of the Governor's decision as stated to Sir Edward Lytton on January 8, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 36.)

special constables headed by Messrs Ogilvy and MacDonald, of whose zeal and ability (especially Mr. Ogilvy's) I cannot speak too highly. There was some little excitement on the arrival, but the feeling generally in this town was of the best description, and summonses have been duly served at Hill's-bar on McGowan & Kelly who are to appear here the day after tomorrow.

I am very much afraid, however, they will be able to shelter themselves behind Mr. Perrier's authority, he having sworn them in as Special constables on the occasion. (14)

Begbie wrote: 'Throughout (enquiries) the Lieut. Governor bore a patient and laborious part . . . ' (15) Finally it was agreed by Colonel Moody, Judge Begbie, and Mr. Brew that the defendants should be dismissed. However Perrier and Captain Whannell both lost their commissions. (16)

From Langley, on January 22, 1859, Moody wrote:

I have the honor to report to your Excellency that at Fort Yale and the neighbourhood the authority of the Law has been completely maintained and quietness now prevails among all classes.

I have however considered it prudent to leave the Detachment of Royal Marines under Lt. Towes at Yale for a week longer instructing him to place himself continually in communication with Mr. Brew. J.P.

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- (14) Moody to Douglas, Fort Yale, January 17, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). Cf. This letter appears in Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, PP. 55-56.
- (15) Begbie to Douglas, February 3, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 37).
- (16) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 5.

The Royal Naval Detachment and Royal Engineers I have brought back with me, the former reporting themselves to Capt. Richards, R.N., H.M.S. 'Plumper' and the latter resuming their very pressing duties and (sic) Langley. (17)

It is easy to imagine how easily real trouble might have arisen. It was because of the bad reputation that the miners of Hill's Bar unfortunately had in Victoria that Colonel Moody had acted with such promptitude in taking his 125 armed men up the river in mid-winter to quell the supposed insurrection. The rapidity with which both Moody and Douglas acted, and the fact that the Royal Engineers and Royal Marines were called upon for military service in the colony had a direct bearing on its early history. It showed the miners that law and order must be maintained and that the officials of the colony intended to see that it was. "British Columbia was not to be a second California in the sense that the miners could conduct themselves as they pleased and defy constituted authority."
(18)

In the British Colonist, February 5, 1859, Amor De Cosmos wrote:

(17) Moody to Douglas, Langley, January 22, 1859, F 1150.
(Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(18) Sage, James Douglas, P. 255.

The Whannell-Perrier war is over. The glory being won, - the bills have now to be paid, to the tune of 10,000 dollars. British Columbia must feel pleased with her first war - so cheap - all for nothing. It is hoped it will prove a grave lesson to avoid the appointment of incompetent persons. The picked official all along have reflected great credit on the country . . . (19)

When Colonel Moody returned to Fort Hope the blue-jackets were paraded, and their one field-piece fired the first salute ever heard in Fort Hope in honour of the Colonel. (20)

From Fort Hope, Moody sent Douglas a list of 12 civilians who had 'behaved quite like old soldiers' at Hill's Bar. "I have intelligence enabling me to assure your Excellency that the ready service and resolute bearing of these men from Cornish Bar and Fort Hope has had an excellent effect through the district". Moody wished them to be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. (21)

Besides being of military service to the colony, Colonel Moody was fortunate in being able to examine part of the Fraser River at this time. In writing to Douglas Begbie said: "The bed of the river and every possible shoal has been exposed to the observation of Coll^d. Moody and Captⁿ."

(19) British Colonist, February 5, 1859.
Cf. Moody to Douglas, February 17, 1859. (Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, PP. 4, 5).

(20) Mayne, op. cit., PP. 71-72.

(21) Moody was very generous with his praise and often brought names of worthy men before the governor.

Grant in its very lowest state, under the advantage also of the remarks of Captⁿ. Wright, of the 'Enterprise', who has personally made our voyage agreeable."
(22)

The San Juan dispute was the only other occasion upon which Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers were called to perform military duty. The question was one concerning the ownership of the San Juan Islands and had been the subject of controversy between Great Britain and the United States since 1854.

In June, 1859, an incident occurred on the Island of San Juan, trivial in itself, but exaggerated to such an extent, that it almost resulted in an international issue. An American settler named Lyman A. Cutler was greatly annoyed by a pig belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company demolishing his potato patch. So angry did Cutler become that he shot the

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- (22) Begbie to Douglas, January 14, 1859. (Howay, The Early History of the Fraser River Mines, P. 27). In relating the story of Ned McGowan's War I have used Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie's reports to Douglas (Howay, The History of the Fraser River Mines) as I find other accounts slightly vary. However other interesting accounts appear in:

Sage, James Douglas, PP. 252-255.

Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, PP. 61-65.

Mayne, op. cit., PP. 58-71.

Bancroft, H. H., Popular Tribunals, San Francisco, II, Chapter 14.

Victoria Gazette, January 8, II, 22, 1859, February 1, 1859.

Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 4.

Begg, Alexander, C. C. (Crofter Commissioner)

History of British Columbia, PP. 294-300.

offender. Griffin, agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, claimed 100 dollars damages from Cutler. What followed is uncertain. Many accounts are given. (23)

However, it is certain that Brigadier-General William S. ~~Harney~~^{Sarney}, commandant of the Military Department of Oregon, ordered Captain George Pickett to occupy San Juan Island with Company "D" of the 9th Infantry. He acted on his own initiative, for the purpose, he said, of protecting Americansettlers from Indian attacks and "to resist all attempts at interference by British authorities." (24)

On July 27, 1859, one month after the incident of the pig, Captain Pickett and 60 men occupied San Juan. As soon as the news of American troops being landed on the Island reached Victoria, Governor Douglas protested. He ordered H. M. S. 'Tribune', Captain G. F. Hornby, to sail at once for San Juan and called upon Colonel Moody for military assistance. In a letter to Governor Douglas, dated July 31, 1859, Colonel (25)

(23) Sage, James Douglas, PP. 264-280.
Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, PP. 309-324.
Cf. Keenleyside, Hugh Ll., Canada and the United States, New York, 1929, PP. 230-238.

(24) Keenleyside, op. cit., P. 234.

(25) Sage, James Douglas, P. 266.

Moody stated:

In compliance with your instructions Captain Magin & all the Royal Marines (44 in number including officers & men) at New Westminster have this morning embarked on board H. M. S. Plumper for Special Service on the Island of San Juan.

. . . as the no. (sic) of Marines is so few, and as it is not improbable Field Intrenchments may have to be formed, I have taken on myself to add to the above force Lieut. Lempriere R.E. & 14 non-com. officers & men of the Royal Engineers. (26)

Moody went on to state that the remainder of the Royal Marines and Royal Engineers were engaged on the Harrison-Lillooet Trail and that he recommended the whole force be withdrawn from that locality to be held in readiness at New Westminster. To Lieutenant Lempriere Moody wrote:

Your party will take with them in addition to the ordinary equipment: Revolvers, ammunition for ditto, entrenching tools, carpenter's tools, camp equipment, and such other stores and in such quantities as may be ordered. (27)

The following day Colonel Moody, Lieutenant Lempriere, Captain Magin and their small corp embarked on H. M. S. 'Plumper' for service on the Island of San Juan. They were to form part of
(28)

(26) Moody to Douglas, July 31, 1859. (Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, 71).

(27) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 5.

(28) Luard to Grant, August 2, 1859. (Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, P. 75). Lempriere returned to England on May 31, 1860. (Moody-Douglas, F 598, May 30, 1860). Cf. Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 190, April 12, 1860.

the force on H. M. S. 'Tribune'.

Colonel Moody evidently looked upon the San Juan occupation as a serious affair. On August 4, 1859, he wrote to both Captain Grant, R.E., and to the Captain of the Steamer 'Colonel Moody' asking them to see that all the Marines stationed in neighbourhood of Port Douglas be brought down
(29)
and embarked on the 'Otter' for service. On August 17, 1859, he wrote to the Inspector General of Fortifications:

The aspect of affairs appears to be altogether of the gravest character, and when the enormous disproportion of British subjects among the nationalities comprising our population is considered there can be no exaggeration in stating it calls for the instant presence of a strong Land Force, and a thorough preparation in all respects, for any contingencies that may arise. (30)

Moody then spoke of the necessity of 'Barracks, Magazines, and Batteries on San Juan Island' and of an increase in strength, both civil and military, to the Royal Engineer Department. He wrote the following communication to Governor Douglas on August 11:

(29) Moody to 'Captain of Steamer Colonel Moody', August 4, 1859. (Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, P. 78).

(30) Moody to Inspector General of Fortifications, August 17, 1859. (Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 101).

At present our information is very vague and yet is sufficiently consistent and uniform from the various sources of information, to prove that the Posts and Military Roads of Communication constructed, and those in progress by the United States Military (not civil) authorities are arranged on a Plan well adapted for aggressive movements at a convenient season.

The numbers also seem to show protection against Indians is not the sole reason for the nature of the arrangements on the Line of Frontier and for the late Seizure of San Juan. This seizure is a military advance movement of a significant character and the establishment of a Post there will be to secure a strategical Point of the greatest advantage to a Foreign Power and destructive to a strong defensive arrangement on our part. (31)

An article, appearing in the 'Pioneer and Democrat', published at Olympia on August 12, 1859, states: "H. B. M. Ship 'Tribune' lies with spring cables and her guns double-shotted, broadside to the camp of Captain Pickett; her decks are covered with red-coats, having on board 450 marines and some 180 sappers and miners" The number of Royal Engineers was merely exaggerated from 15 to 180. Feeling became tense on both sides.

Although Governor Douglas's instructions were to land British forces equal in number to those of the American

(31) Moody to Douglas, August 11, 1859, P 1151. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(32) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 5.

troops, Rear-Admiral Baynes and other British officers - especially Capt. Hornby - felt that war was unnecessary and all collision should be avoided. He considered it a better policy merely to display his strength and suggested a joint occupation. It is due to their wise actions that war was averted. In September Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, was sent to assume control of the American forces on the Pacific coast. When he arrived in October, 1859, all the British vessels except H. M. S. 'Satellite' had been withdrawn from the San Juan Islands.

Lieutenant Lempriere and his party of Royal Engineers had by this time returned to New Westminster after an absence of less than three months. They had served on military duty but had seen no more actual warfare than those who had served with Moody in 'Ned McGowan's War'.

The San Juan dispute reveals the relationship which existed between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody and between the governor and Captain Hornby at that time. Moody's correspondence shows Douglas as uncompromising and tactless in a situation that was definitely critical. Writing to Sir J. L. Burgoyne he said:

It is fortunate for Great Britain that Hornby of the "Tribune" is at San Juan. His sound good sense may avert evil. He will avert war to the last without in any way periling the proper dignity of England. The Governor wrote him a very clever letter indirectly ordering him to land the troops

but throwing the responsibility on him. Hornby has far too much "Mother-wit" to be caught that way - of course he did not land them.

Again.

I am rejoiced at Hornby's prudence. The Governor's letter involved an impracticability - to land, but not on any account to come into collision, and that he confided in his judgment and discretion as to how to act. There can be no doubt from Hearnsey's instructions and his present letter, that a collision was desired. The embroglio would then have been inextricable. (33)

Two letters from Captain Hornby to his wife throw some light upon the subject. The first one written November 6, 1859 says:

I hear from the Admiral, but in confidence, that General Scott (relieved General Hearnsey) has asked us to occupy San Juan jointly with one hundred men each; and he and the Governor have suggested in stead a civil occupation, which does not meet General Scott's orders; that General Scott is very anxious to make some definite arrangement before the mail goes so that he may send it to Washington in time for publication in the President's Message to Congress, while our authorities wish to hold off to see what instructions the mail may bring from home, and further because they think that General Scott ought at once to begin to remove his troops and guns from the Island. The Admiral then went on to say that he considered we were indebted "to my good judgment" in not following the Governor's instructions, for not being involved in a war, and that he had written to that effect to the Admiralty. (34)

(33) Moody to Burgoyne, August 8 and 12, 1859. Quoted from Sage, James Douglas, P. 274.

(34) Hornby to his wife from "Life of Sir Gen. Philip Hornby" Edinburgh, 1896, P. 68. (Sage, James Douglas, P. 280).

The second letter stated:

I hear that the Governor has got more praise in England for keeping the peace with the Yankees. (35) That is rather good when one knows that he would hear of nothing but shooting them all at first, and that after all, peace was only preserved by my not complying with his wishes, as I felt he was all in the wrong from the first. I got the abuse for saying that San Juan is not more our Island than the Americans and that we should be equally wrong in landing troops there and now they found that I was right. (36)

A plan of joint occupation of the Island of San Juan was agreed upon by Governor Douglas and General Scott. The British troops under Captain Basalgette were not landed until March 29, 1860. It seems that Colonel Moody had little say in the arrangements. However, he did send Captain Parsons, R.E., to Douglas on March 29, 1860, to give information concerning a military post on the Island of San Juan but Parsons (37) was not granted an interview. By this time Douglas and Moody

(35) Lytton's Speeches, Vol. II, PP. 386-387. In a speech on British Columbia, intended to be delivered in the House of Lords on July 8, 1870, (but not delivered) Lytton said in reference to the San Juan dispute:

"... Nothing but the prudence and moderation of the then Governor, Mr. Douglas, prevented an armed conflict, which might have led to very serious results."

(36) Hornby to his wife. (Life of Sir Geo. Phipps Hornby, p. 68). Hall, Winifred, The Royal Engineers in British Columbia, 1855-1863, p. 74.

(37) Moody to Douglas, March 29, 1860, F 1153. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). Douglas said he understood that Moody had jurisdiction only over the colony of British Columbia.

were not working well together and Moody was not again called on to perform any service in the San Juan Islands.

Chapter 6

Choice of Capital.

The Royal Engineers were under the impression that Colonel Moody had the privilege of choosing the site for the capital of British Columbia. Before he left England, he had carefully studied maps of the country and had instructed Captain Parsons to note in particular the northern bank of the Fraser River. One feels that even before Moody had arrived in the new colony that he had settled on the approximate site for its capital. 'On sanitary, on commercial, on military, and on political grounds,' he immediately and unhesitatingly condemned Derby - the spot chosen by Governor Douglas.

As soon as Colonel Moody had settled the trouble at Hill's Bar, the 'Plumper' proceeded to examine the northern

(1) The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, January 29, 1859. Although it is generally understood that Moody had this privilege I can find no authority for it. It was not in Lytton's instructions. 'The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette' states, on above date: 'The choice of a site on which to establish this capital rests with Col. Moody, R.E. and there is little doubt that he has ere this decided on the spot, one probably on the banks of the River "Fraser".' Lytton's instructions to Moody were, "You will consult with the Governor as to the choice of sites for a maritime town, probably at the mouth of Fraser's River." (Supra, P. 35). Howay says "... his instructions were to suggest a site for the seat of Government. . . ." (Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 4).

(2) Supra, pp. 19-20.

(3) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 4.

bank of Fraser River for the purpose of choosing a spot on which to establish the capital town. The site on which New Westminster now stands was heavily timbered and difficult to penetrate. The location finally decided upon by Colonel Moody was a little below the thickest bush - the spot on which the Provincial penitentiary now stands. ⁽⁴⁾ In a letter written from H. M. S. 'Plumper', 'off Vancouver's Island', dated January 28, 1859, Colonel Moody made a report to Governor Douglas submitting for his approval the site of New Westminster for the capital.

Sir,

After a very careful study of the question, I have now the honour to submit to your consideration that the site which appears to be best adapted for the capital of British Columbia is about 10 miles below the new town of Langley, and on the north bank of the Frazer.(sic)

I am under the impression it is the same or nearly the same site to which you did me the honour to direct my attention as the proper

(4) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers. P. 4.
Cf. The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, January 29, 1859.

position for the port of entry. (5)

It is the first high ground on the north side after entering the river, and is about 20 miles above the Sand Heads.

There is abundance of room and convenience for every description of requisite in a seaport and the capital of a great country. There are great facilities for communication by water, as well as by future great trunk railways into the interior.

There is good land for garden ground, if one may judge by the forest and rich meadow lands surrounding it. It is raised above the periodical floods, and yet the low lands (which will be most coveted as commercial sites, docks, quays &c) are close adjoining and easily made available.

From the advantageous circumstances of the locality, it is easily rendered unapproachable to an enemy.

As a military position it is rare to find one so singularly strong by nature, in connexion with its adaptation as the capital of a country.

Immediately in front is the broad navigable river; on the opposite bank is a line of rising

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- (5) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 19. (Douglas to Lytton, November 3, 1859). In this letter Douglas did inform Lytton that a seaport town should be established at the entrance to the Fraser River. He went so far as to point out practically the identical spot chosen later by Moody as a suitable site for a capital.
- Cf. B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 41. (Douglas to Lytton, January 29, 1859). Douglas declared Victoria the port of entry for British Columbia until some arrangements could be made to collect the duties at some point on the Fraser River. This was a great disappointment to those who had purchased lots at Langley. They expected it to be made the one port of entry on the Fraser. (British Colonist, February 3, 1859).

ground covering the whole front. This rising ground falls towards the frontier, and all along that base is swampy land, easily inundated.

Upon this rising ground could be placed a great intrenchment camp, with a series of open earthen works entirely protecting the city at a distance, ensuring perfect safety from any injury whatever to a city itself.

On the right flank of the position the city would be protected by two deep channels, in addition to the river itself, and also by widely-extended marshes, which, when dyked (as they will be by the farmers), could be easily inundated.

The left flank is protected, at a distance of four miles, by the Fraser, and also by the deep broad river Pitt; but in addition to these two serious obstacles to an enemy is a commanding hill, having the Pitt River close in front; on this hill could be placed a strong work or works, entirely covering the left flank.

At the rear of the position, and distant five miles, is Burrard's Inlet, any access to which would be rendered most hazardous, by placing a work on the island which extends across it. There is also on that side a range of high ground, from east to west, on which could be placed earthen works and intrenched camp, preventing any advance.

The short military defences of the least costly description, and defended by militia forces, could be quickly formed (and from time to time increased to any extent), when a necessity arose for them, and which would render the site almost unassailable. Considering how near the embouchure of the great valley of the Fraser is to the frontier, from ten to fifteen miles, these considerations are of incalculable weight.

It is also to be considered that precisely as the occupation of this part of the Fraser is occupied in force by us (as it would necessarily be, if a capital in a strong position be placed

there), so could we the better hold possession, of the whole country, and compel an enemy's front to retire.

This practically, in time of war, would be to cause the frontier to recede further south, and enable us with comparative ease to take the offensive. I would further submit that, in any war with our neighbours, our best, I may say our only chance of success in this country (owing to the geographical distribution of its component parts, and the physical formation of the whole,) would be an immediate offensive advance. I am so strongly impressed with these views as to venture (but, believe me, with utmost deference) to press on your consideration that, should it be determined not to occupy this site in the manner suggested, concentrating there, as early as possible, a condensation of political, military and commercial interests, growing and increasing in force in all time to come, it would seriously peril, if not lose, to Great Britain the possession of the mainland.

These views, I apprehend, coincide generally with your own, but it is possible they may^{not} have struck you so forcibly as they may now that I have sketched out the military value of the site.

In reference to the adaptation of the actual spot itself for a city of magnitude, I might add to what I have already stated in general terms, that there is deep water close along an extended line of shore: sea-going vessels of any burden can moor close to the bank, plenty of water for supply of household purposes, and good drainage. I would wish that the upper level had not been so high, as hereafter it may cause some expense in improving the gradients of a few of the streets.

The main streets for business, however, and all that may be occupied for some time to come, will be satisfactory. I might also add that any leading railway communications from the interior would pass down on the north side of the river. Politically and commercially this would be necessary.

This report would not be complete unless I added that the site of Langley is open to the gravest objections as to the site of a capital, or even a town of importance. It is sufficient to say it is on the frontier side of the river, and no amount of expenditure and skill could effectually rectify the stray military objection to its position. (6)

It is easily seen that Colonel Moody was influenced by the military advantages of the site. This military bias was a natural outcome of his training and of his instructions from Sir E. B. Lytton who realized the danger of American expansionist tendencies. Why Douglas accepted and acted upon the report is difficult to determine. Probably the decision and ability displayed by Moody in his condemnatory report made Douglas' capitulation easier. Possibly he realized that 'Derby' did not fulfil the military conditions considered necessary by the Secretary of State. Lytton had written on October 16, 1858:

From England we send skill and discipline; the raw material (that is the mere men) a Colony intended for free institutions, and on the borders of so powerful a neighbour as the United States of America, should learn betimes of itself to supply. (7)

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- (6) Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859, F 1151. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). Does not say to Douglas but it could be to no one else. Cf. B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 60. (Moody to Douglas, January 28, 1859). (Enclosure - Douglas to Lytton, February 4, 1859, P. 60).
- (7) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, PP. 70-71. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1859). Cf. Begg, op. cit., P. 236.

A few days later he wrote:

You will not fail to regard with a military eye the best position for such towns and cities, as well as for the engineering of roads and passes, or the laying of foundations of any public works. (8)

In selecting Derby, Douglas had deliberately ignored the instructions quoted above, and when the new site was suggested by Moody, Douglas dared not defend his choice. (9) Moody did realize, however, that Douglas would find it difficult to abandon the Langley site where town lots had been cleared, surveyed and sold, and where barracks and other buildings had been raised almost to a point of completion. On January 29, 1859, he wrote privately to Douglas:

In enclosing my Report to you about occupying the site on the North Bank of the Fraser below Langley I cannot refrain from adding a few private lines to assure you that though I may appear to submit my observations in a somewhat urgent manner

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- (8) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 74. (Lytton to Douglas, October 29, 1858 - Enclosure). Lytton also feared American aggression in the San Juan dispute. Supra, P.).
- (9) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 80. (Lytton to Douglas, February 11, 1859). It may be inferred from the despatch written on February 11, that neither Lytton nor any of the interested Imperial authorities had been satisfied with the choice of Derby and were definitely of the opinion that the site of the capital should be on the north bank of the river. (Supra, P. 48). Douglas had not received this despatch when the site of New Westminster was submitted. However it would not please him or make the relationship between the governor and lieutenant-governor any happier by realizing that Downing Street favoured Moody's selection.

it is in a spirit of entire deference to my chief.

I have the satisfaction of knowing you are disposed to agree with me in the main in this matter.

I believe I mentioned to you it is part of my duty to communicate to my military Superiors in England my view on all military Questions affecting the Colony as part of the whole Empire.

The substance of what I have stated in the report will be amplified in such Military Communication.

I hope you will confer also with Mr. Megbie on this question; we talked it over together. (10)

Public opinion definitely favoured Moody's selection and at the same time condemned that of Douglas. An editorial in the 'British Colonist' stated its opinion as follows:

On apparently good authority it is said that Lieut. Gov. Moody - whom everybody agrees should be a good judge of location - is favorable to change, while His Excellency Gov. Douglas is not disposed to do so. Pitt River is said to be the best situated in a military and commercial point of view, but by removing Langley that H. B. Co's (sic) ten mile land claim would not become so valuable, and consequently Executive reluctance may be accounted for.

That Pitt river has advantages over Langley, is well established. In a military point of view it is better situated for defence, by placing the river between it and the American line, and by commanding the mouth of the river. And if a military or public road, leading to the interior, was made, the Pitt river side would certainly be best. Commercially it would prove better than

(10) Moody to Douglas, January 29, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence (Private) - Provincial Archives).

Langley, for vessels entering the river sail to Pitt river, when they would require a steam-tug to take them to Langley. (11)

Governor Douglas forwarded Colonel Moody's letter to Sir E. B. Lytton with this comment:

The views which the Lieutenant-Governor has so ably developed generally coincide with my own impression on the subject, and I am satisfied of the soundness of his conclusions. (12)

On February 14, 1859, Governor Douglas having approved of the new location for the capital issued a proclamation notifying the public of his intention of laying out, without delay, the capital on the spot selected and of offering the lots for sale at public auction. One-fourth of the lots were to be reserved for sale in the United Kingdom and in the British Colonies. Lots sold at Derby could be exchanged for those in the capital. The new town was to be declared a

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- (11) British Colonist, February 3, 1859, P. 2. (Those who favored the choice of Moody included Judge Begbie, Lieutenant Mayne and Capt. Richards. Pemberton condemned it, considering the Langley site superior. He had been practically responsible for the choice of Derby.
- (12) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, PP. 59-60. (Douglas to Lytton, February 4, 1859). A despatch from Sir E. B. Lytton, May 24, 1859, approved of the spot chosen by Moody. (B. C. Papers, II, PP. 92-93, Lytton to Douglas, May 24, 1859).
- (13) Lytton objected to this on the grounds that such a plan would lead to speculation. (B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 86, Lytton to Douglas, May 7, 1859).

(14)

port of entry as soon as arrangements could be made.

For years Douglas had been the only recognized authority in the country and although Moody's duties were to be regarded as 'special' he, as governor, was still 'supreme' and had the privilege of making the final choice for the capital. However, he must have realized that Colonel Moody had public opinion on his side and that Sir E. B. Lytton would without doubt favour the new site on account of its military advantages. Without hesitation therefore he accepted the judgment of the new official although it is generally felt that he did so with reluctance. This was probably the beginning of a long subtle quarrel between the Governor of British Columbia and the Commander of the Royal Engineers. It developed into bitter jealousy between the towns of
(15)
Victoria and New Westminster.

As soon as the capital of British Columbia had been

(14) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 65. (Enclosure in letter Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859).
Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 66.

(15) As far as I can find out Douglas never condemned the site privately or officially. Until May 16, 1859, Douglas's letters to Moody were very friendly - after that they were hardly civil. Moody's on the other hand were always polite and in accord with his office as a subordinate. In reading these letters one feels that Moody was not given his just scope.

chosen the Royal Engineers were removed from Derby to the new location where they at once proceeded to make preparation for the arrival of the 'Thames City'. The task must have been tremendous. Lieutenant Mayne says:

The work of clearing the land has been the great drawback to the progress of New Westminster. Dr. Campbell and I went to examine a part a little North of where the town stands and so thick was the brush that it took us two hours to force our way in - rather less than a mile and one half. Where we penetrated it, it was composed of very thick willows and alder intertwined so closely that every step of the way had to be broken through, while the ground was encumbered with fallen timber of a larger growth. (16)

And a little further on he says:

The site hit upon by Colonel Moody was a little below this very thick bush, where the ground was somewhat clearer. Regarded both in a military and commercial light, it was infinitely preferable to the spot which had been previously fixed upon for this purpose, higher up and on the opposite side of the river. (17)

The Engineers cleared first the site for their camp which they called 'Sapperton' and then, with the help

(16) Mayne, op. cit., P. 72.

Probably the change of site contributed to the delay more than anything else.

(17) Ibid., P. 73.

(18)
of civilian surveyors, made a survey of the city. Little had been done by the time the 'Thames City' had arrived at Esquimalt.

A dispute arose, in Victoria, as to the naming of the capital, Moody proposing Queenborough. (19) Mr. W. A. G. Young, Colonial Secretary, considered it as too nearly a paraphrase of Victoria - 'the only permissible Queen City'. The name was proclaimed 'Queensborough' - 'which was quite another thing' (20) - according to Douglas. The difficulty was finally referred for settlement to Queen Victoria who named it 'New Westminster'. (21) This name was proclaimed by Douglas.

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- (18) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 71. (Douglas to Lytton, March 25, 1859). Reporting to the Home authorities on April 25, 1859, Governor Douglas says:

Colonel Moody is now employed in laying out the site of Queensborough, but the weather is exceedingly unfavorable for such operations, and I fear that consequently there will be no land sale for some time to come; and, unfortunately, the commencement of the survey of the new town has entirely put a stop to any further sale of land at Langley. A large building has been erected there for the accommodation of the Royal Engineers, now daily expected in the 'Thames City'.

- (19) Geographic Gazetteer of British Columbia, 1930, Preface V. Lytton referred to the mainland as New Caledonia.
- (20) Gosnell, Year Book, 1897, P. 46.
- (21) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 61. (Douglas to Lytton, February 5, 1859).
Cf. ibid., P. 86. (Lytton to Douglas, May 5, 1859).

(22)
on July 20, 1859.

Colonel Moody was much opposed to settling land between the Fraser River and the Frontier until there was some prospect of an extensive British settlement. However he did suggest to Governor Douglas that this land be settled by British subjects on 'feudal terms for 21 years'⁽²³⁾. The British subjects were to consist of naval and military men, civilians who had served under the Crown and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who could be called upon for military service. He still considered Langley inferior in every respect to Queensborough both as a site for a commercial city and for intended communications to the interior by railway and other modes.⁽²⁴⁾

The loss of Point Roberts and the proximity of Drayton Harbour (American) to the Canadian waters in Semiamoo

(22) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 39. (Proclamation of B. C.), July 20, 1859.

(23) Moody to Douglas, May 14, 1859. (Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 91 - Provincial Archives). This is interesting. Feudal Tenure had been abolished in England and Wales in 1660 and in Lower Canada in 1854.

(24) Moody to Douglas, May 14, 1859. (Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 91 - Provincial Archives). Moody is very definite in this letter and asks that his opinion be forwarded to England. Two days earlier Douglas had written to Lytton pointing out the advantages of old Fort Langley, (Derby) as a commercial town. He still hoped to see a commercial city on the site of Derby.

(25)

Bay were also of great military concern to Colonel Moody. He was of the opinion that the affair was of such national importance that everything that might tend 'to neutralize future mischief' should be considered seriously and should be brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government. Considering it of utmost necessity that British subjects should have "a clear undisputed right of water-ways for vessels of any class and burden to the British Columbian shore" adjoining Semiamoo Bay he asked the following questions:

Have we this right clear and beyond all dispute?
 Have we the right to deepen the water across the Parallel?
 Have we the right to form any kind of Harbour on our shore, flushing the channel of entrance to it across the boundery (sic) in any manner and to any extent we please? (26)

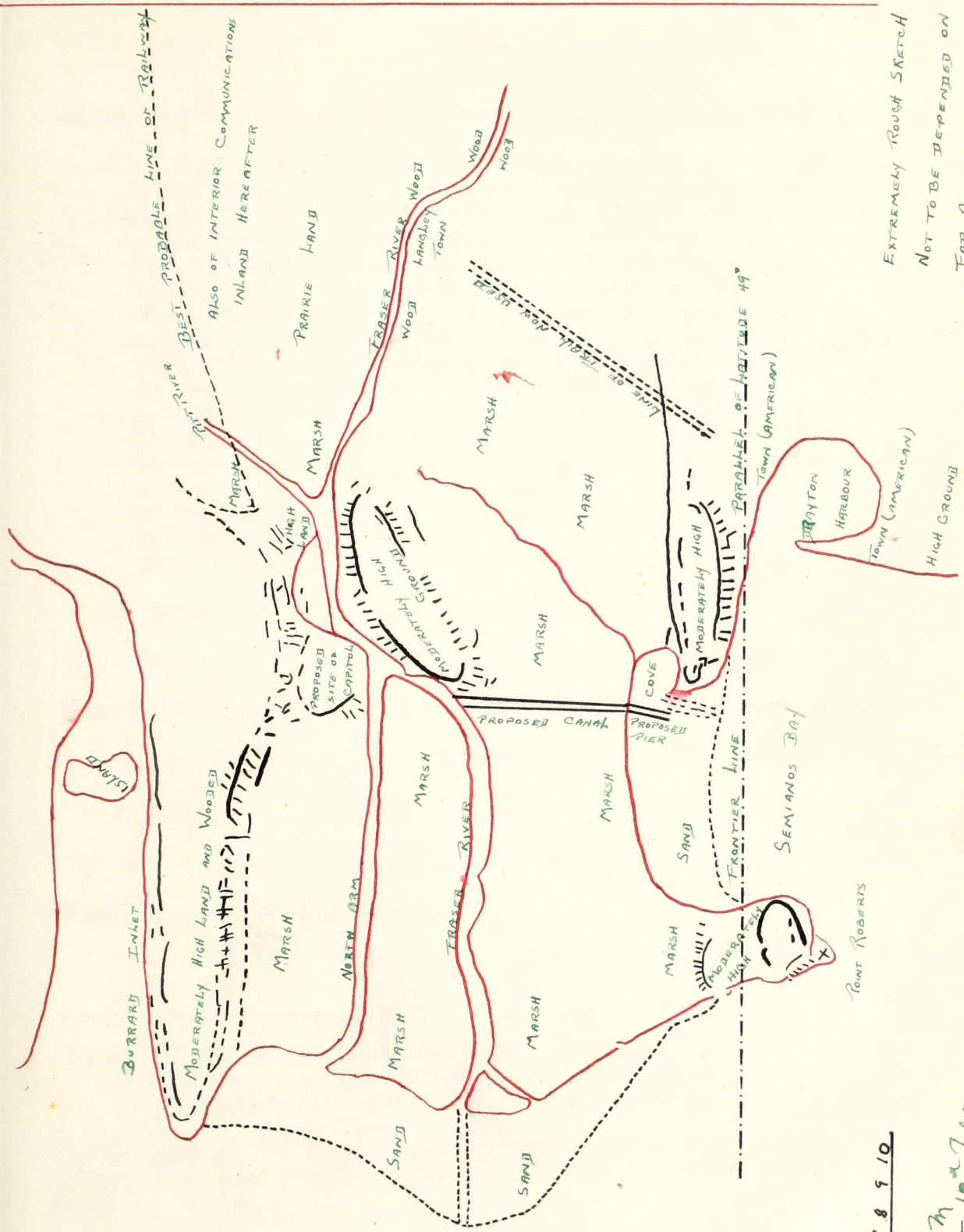
Moody was of the opinion that the small shallow cove in the north east corner of Semiamoo Bay should be con-

(25) On which 'Crescent Beach' and 'White Rock' are now located. Crescent Beach was formerly known as "Blackie's Spit" from Walter Blackie, a merchant of New Westminster who owned it for many years. (R. L. Reid).

(26) Moody to Douglas, February 10, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). I have not seen this referred to elsewhere. It is very interesting. Moody's fear of American invasion is important. If Britain and the United States had gone to war over the 'Trent' Affair, British Columbia would have been in danger.

Shm. 10 Feb.

EXTREMELY ROUGH SKETCH
NOT TO BE DEPENDENT ON
FOR ACCURACY. IT MERELY
SERVES TO INDICATE THE
RELATIVE POSITIONS



verted at once into a harbour with a good channel of access:

The mode is simple enough, namely to cut a canal deep enough for gun-boats and vessels of moderate burden, from the river Fraser at a point two or three miles below the site I have recommended, and which accords generally I believe, with your own views, as adapted for the site of the Capital of B. Columbia : and to form a pier out from the main shore (into Semiamoo Bay) on the west side of the Canal : to strengthen the extremity of the Spit which at present forms the cove so that it may not be washed away by subsequent operations : dredge out the cove to any extent of area that may be deemed requisite, it is all soft - form dykes along the shore line of the marshes with the material dredged out. One dyke would communicate as a Military road to any "works" on the British portion of Pt. Roberts. (27)

Great care was to be taken in giving the right direction to the current of the 'Scour' in order that the entrance of Drayton Harbour would not be silted up. There was grave danger of Semiamoo Bay, especially the British portion of it, being silted up also and the British losing its shoreline on the bay - 'The 49th Parallel and not the features of the
(28)
country being the boundary.'

After pointing out the military advantage of such

(27) Moody to Douglas, February 10, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).
Semiamoo (generally accepted spelling).

(28) Ibid. At this time the route out to the Gulf of Georgia would have been through American waters.

a harbour in time of war, Moody stressed the importance of such a harbour in time of peace. It would be a 'Harbour of Refuge' for vessels unable to enter the Fraser River (indeed a second access open at all seasons of the year) and would be a convenient route for Americans entering British Columbia.

In conclusion he said, "I would mention that the above advantages afford additional reason for the adoption of the site alluded to as adapted for a capital and it would be accepted as a boon to their commercial interests by our friends over the frontier without giving them the monopoly of the sole Port on that side - I mean for access to the new
(29)
site." Moody considered the question sufficiently important to involve the Imperial question of general defences and as such thought national aid might be expected.

(29) Moody to Douglas, February 10, 1859, F 1150. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). The formation of the Lower Fraser Valley shows that the Fraser flowed southward into Bellingham Bay and Boundary Bay 'in the years long gone by'. (R. L. Reid - interview).

Chapter 7

Contribution of the Royal Engineers
in Building up New Westminster.

When the site for the capital of British Columbia had been proclaimed the Royal Engineers started preparations for the building of the city. On the arrival of the 'Thames City' at Esquimalt on April 12, 1859, Lieutenant Palmer and 20 Royal Engineers proceeded almost immediately on the 'Satellite' for the new capital. The main body of Royal Engineers was embarked in sections on the 'Eliza Anderson' and sent up the Fraser to Derby where Captain Grant had made a start in erecting buildings. Unfortunately for the first group, a buoy moored at the mouth of the Fraser had shifted and caused the vessel to be stranded for some time. Most of the men were left at Queensborough; the remainder with their families proceeded to Derby where there was at least open

(1) Lands and Works Letter Book I, (April 13, 1859, Moody to Grant).
Cf. Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, PP. 18-19.

(2) ibid., P. 53. (Moody to Grant, April 14, 1859).

(3) ibid., P. 50. (Moody to Mr. Bevins, April 14, 1859).

(4) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley, The Fraser Valley Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, New Westminster, 1912. (The city was not named New Westminster until July 20, 1859, when Douglas declared the Proclamation).

ground and some accommodation had been provided for their comfort. Here they remained until their quarters at New Westminster were ready. On April 25, 1859, Douglas reported to Lytton:

The Royal Engineers and Royal Marines have been all safely landed at Queensborough, where they are now stationed, and Colonel Moody is also at that place making arrangements for their comfortable accommodation and directing the surveys of public land and other affairs connected with his department. (5)

With the exception of the few Royal Engineers who were doing survey work, every member of the corps was kept busy at Queensborough clearing the site and building their new home and capital. They were reinforced by the Royal Marines and all available civilian assistance. D. G. F. McDonald and Cockrane with survey parties, had been employed at Queensborough some time before the arrival of the 'Thames City'; Mr. Moberly was soon attached to the Lands Department to work under Grant; Messrs. Wolfe & Company were employed as

(5) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 9. (Douglas to Lytton, April 25, 1859).

(6) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, P. 18. (Moody to Parsons, April 13, 1859). McDonald and Cockrane remained as civilian surveyors. Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 115, June 14, 1859.

(7) Lands and Works Letter Book I, March 22, 1859.

(8)
contractors for the pier at the Customs House, and Edgar
Dewdney was appointed to the post of 'Sworn City Surveyor for
New Westminster and its Suburbs and Sworn Crown Surveyor for
(9)
its District'.

Those who could not find accommodation on the
Hudson's Bay Company's old brigantine 'Recovery', which was
anchored opposite the site of Sapperton (locally known as
(10)
'The Camp') were forced to take refuge in tents - only a
small portion of the site for the camp having been cleared.
At the time of the arrival of the main body of Royal Engineers
the 'town' consisted of a saloon conducted by J. T. Scott, a
butcher's shop in charge of Robert Dickinson, a grocery owned
(11)
by W. J. Armstrong and a bakery conducted by Philip Hicks.

For the sake of clarity the specific duties of the
officers of the corps may be repeated. Colonel Moody, who
held a "dormant commission" of Lieutenant-Governor, was also

(8) Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 50, April 14, 1859.

(9) Moody to Douglas, May 19, 1860, F 598. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(10) Howay, The Royal Engineers, P. 6.

(11) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda (no page given).
These men were not connected with the Royal Engineers.

the commanding officer and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and had the direction of all public works throughout the country. Captain Grant was the executive officer of public works; Captain Palmer and Captain Parsons superintended the surveying and exploring, Captain Parsons having the responsibility of laying out lots in New Westminster. Captain Luard was executive officer of the Lands and Works Department; and Lieutenant Lempriere held the office of Chief Architect.

Corporal Sinnett's and Corporal Launder's beautifully executed plans for surveying and laying out of New Westminster are preserved in the Provincial Archives. They illustrate the neatness and accuracy for which these draughtsmen were famous.

(12) As early as March 1859, Moody declared that the Royal Engineers were incapable of accomplishing the whole of the works contemplated and assigned to them on their departure from England. In fact he said that they could do little more than attend to the survey of townsites and make rural surveys - the construction of roads and bridges and opening the great communications of the country must be otherwise provided for, unless the development of the colony be retarded to an extent that ^{would} prove disastrous to its prosperity. PRO CO 60.15 (Despatch No. 117) Douglas, Moody and R. E. Douglas-Lytton, March 19, 1859. (enclosure). (Ferguson, Thesis).

(13) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 14, May 8, 1859.

The summer of 1859 was spent in clearing the site of their camp (the present penitentiary grounds), building the barracks, the married men's quarters, offices, store-houses, and other necessary buildings. (14) Included in this group were a small church - convertible into a school - a court-house, a jail, a customs' house, offices of Lands and Works, a treasurer's office and finally the Government House - the residence for the Lieutenant Governor. Even the flower beds (15) and kitchen gardens were planted that first summer. Mrs. Herring, describing the camp says,

The married people's quarters stood in groups of three; each contained two rooms, and in one of these was the luxury of a brick open hearth, with an unlimited supply of wood for the fetching.

A house had been built for the Colonel and his numerous family, one or two smaller ones for the married officers, a school was also used for church, likewise a chaplain's residence. (16)

Captain Barrett-Lennard described the site as he saw it in 1860,

About a mile higher up the river are the quarters of the Royal Engineers, situated on a

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- (14) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 2, P. 5. (Moody to Douglas, February 17, 1859). The list of requisitions included flower seeds of the 'choicest quality'.
- (15) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 3. (Moody to Grant, May 3, 1859).
- (16) Herring, (Mrs.) Frances, In the Pathless West, London, 1914, P. 62.

steep incline, presenting a most picturesque 'coup d'oeil' from which ever side it is approached, both on account of the graceful, high-pitched roofs of the buildings themselves, as well as the romantic character of the site they occupy. The choice of this situation certainly reflects great credit, at least, on the taste of Colonel Moody, as the river here forming the angle, a most extensive prospect may, in fine weather, be enjoyed - not only of its richly-wooded banks, but of the blue ranges of lofty mountains that shut in the distant horizon. (17)

Lieutenant Mayne also considered the camp worthy of note:

In the camp, the Engineers who for some time lived under canvas, are all housed; and commanding a very comfortable house, the residence of the commander-in-chief, Colonel Moody. The view of the Fraser from the camp is very pleasing. On the left, over Pitt Lake, rise the beautiful peaks known as the Golden Ears; to the right of these, the valleys of the Fraser can be traced almost as far as Fort Hope; while the foreground, looking over the buildings of the rising town, level land stretching away into American territory beyond the boundary-line as far almost as Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound. (18)

Surveying, clearing, and laying out the city of New Westminster proper was a tremendous task. Mayne says 'had it not been for Colonel Moody's determination to make a

(17) Barrett-Lennard, Capt. C. E., Travels in British Columbia, London, 1862, P. 31.

(18) Mayne, op. cit., P. 89. Captain Richards also gives a very pleasing description of the 'camp' in the 'British Columbian', March 6, 1862.

beginning, and for the labours of the Engineers in clearing the site for their camp, New Westminster would have made little, if any, perceptible progress . . . of the severity of that labour, no one unacquainted with the difficulty of clearing bush as it exists in British Columbia can form any accurate conception⁽¹⁹⁾. However, so dexterous was their work, that lots were cleared and ready for sale in June, 1859.

The first sale of building lots of Queensborough took place on the 1st and 2nd of June, 1859, at Victoria, at the offices of Semlin Franklin, the auctioneer.⁽²⁰⁾ 314 lots were offered for sale and 310 were sold. 110 lots were reserved for future sale in the United Kingdom and British Colonies.⁽²¹⁾ The following blocks were put up and sold - blocks 1, 4, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30. The upset price was a \$100.00.⁽²²⁾ The actual amount of sales was

(19) Mayne, op. cit., P. 88.

(20) Lands and Works Letter Book I, PP. 32, 73. (Public Notice of Sale). Semlin Franklin was one of the first Jews to settle in Victoria.

(21) Sir Edward Lytton objected to this. Supra, P.

(22) Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 92.

\$89,170.00 on which a deposit of 25 percent was made on the purchase, the remaining balance to be paid in three installments - on the 1st day of July, August and September, 1859, respectively. The largest sum realized for a single lot was \$1,925.00 for lot 11, block 5, bought by Alexander D. McDonald. The statement sent to the Home Office was as follows:

Sale of Queensborough Town Lots.

Actual amount of sale	<u>\$89,170.00</u>
Amount of instalments received in cash	11,363.75
Ditto receivable in cash	<u>50,863.25</u>
	\$62,227.00
Amount received in Langley titles	11,192.00
Ditto receivable ditto	<u>15,751.00</u>
	\$89,170.00

(Signed) Robt. Burnaby.

June 4, 1859.

pro the Chief Commissioner of Lands
and Works, British Columbia. (24)

Before the sale commenced, inquiry was made regarding the clearing and grading of the streets of the new town. After

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- (23) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 16. (Douglas to Lytton, June 6, 1859).
Cf. Macdonald, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, 1862, P. 15. Passim. Alexander McDonald was the owner of McDonald's Bank in Victoria, the first bank of issue and deposit west of the Great Lakes. (R. L. Reid).
- (24) ibid., P. 16. (Douglas to Lytton, June 6, 1859 - enclosure).
Cf. Lands and Works Letter Book I, P. 103. (Burnaby to Douglas, June 2, 1859).

consulting Governor Douglas, Franklin replied that the purchase price of the lots would be utilized for that purpose.⁽²⁵⁾ This promise, not fulfilled, increased the amount and number of sales.

Douglas was pleased with the sale of the lots. Writing to Lytton he said; 'the result has proved most satisfactory as a financial operation, and indicates a general confidence in the future of the colony'.⁽²⁶⁾ To Moody he wrote 'The result is extraordinary, considering the depressed state of trade. Whatever our friends may say to the contrary there is firm confidence in British Columbia'.⁽²⁷⁾ However he was not so pleased when Franklin sent in a bill of £500 for selling the said lots.⁽²⁸⁾

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- (25) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley, P. 4. The Fraser Valley Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, 1912.
Cf. Macdonald, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, 1862, P. 15.
Cf. British Columbian, July 12, 1862.
- (26) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 16. (Moody to Lytton, June 6, 1859).
- (27) Private Official Letter Book, 1859, 64 En. D. 101.10. (Douglas to Moody, June 1, 1859).
- (28) Douglas to Moody, F 485. (Douglas Correspondence, October 28, 1860).

The proposed reservation of lots for sale in the British Isles and elsewhere did not meet with the approval of Sir E. B. Lytton who considered such a reservation 'decidedly objectionable':

It can be of no use except to stimulate the acquisition of property by non-residents. This is one of the worst evils to which a new community is liable. The lots are bought by speculators who hold them on a chance of a rise in value, with the effect in the meanwhile of obstructing the progress of the town, interrupting its communications, and creating a nuisance to the holders of adjoining lots . . . (29)

In accordance with these instructions Douglas ordered a second sale of lots to be held in New Westminster early in 1860. Franklin was again chosen as auctioneer. This choice did not meet with the approval of the people of New Westminster. Although few in number they were indignant that the promise of utilizing the proceeds of the first sale in clearing the streets had not been carried out and were determined that Franklin should not again act as auctioneer. Indeed they were determined that no one from the city of Victoria should have that honour. Thus, on May 2, 1860, Edgar Dewdney, later Lieutenant-Governor, held the sale.

(29) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 86. (Lytton to Douglas, May 7, 1859).

(30)

Some 33 lots were sold for the sum of £5,350 sterling.

The growth of New Westminster was retarded on account of the difficulty in clearing but gradually the town assumed shape. Moody's vision was coming true. Soon a church appeared, a treasury and court house arose, Columbia Street began to take shape and New Westminster was soon a 'city of homes'. Pemberton, possibly a little jealous of its growth, wrote sarcastically:

No exertions were spared to found the new capital with éclat and stamp it with success. Engineers, military and civil, were for months employed projecting its squares and terraces. At the auction sales it was announced that in certain quarters, its "Westend", no shop fronts should be admitted. Majesty itself was approached to find a name for it and it was called in the colonies 'The Phantom City'. (31)

Moody was reprimanded by Douglas when he referred to New Westminster being the 'Capital of a great and flourishing colony'.

. . . and by classing New Westminster in the same category with the great cities at home - I would suggest to you that the Colony itself must first become great and flourishing before we can under-

(30) Macdonald, op. cit., P. 15 and *passim*.

(31) Pemberton, J. Despard, Facts and Figures Relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia, London, 1860, P. 52. Pemberton was Surveyor-General of Vancouver Island.

take works on a scale of magnificence in accordance therewith and that a Town just laid out and not yet dissociated from a primeval forest cannot be dealt with as a great city that has existed for Centuries. (32)

In spite of such discouraging criticism New Westminster continued to grow. Reverend Lundin Brown, in his prize essay on British Columbia, in 1863, gives the population including Royal Engineers, as 1000. Besides stores and residences New Westminster contained three churches (Church of England, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan), a Colonial Hospital, a school, and Government buildings and government offices. He speaks of the Royal Engineers as 'a most efficient body of men who have materially aided in the development of the Colony'. (33)

An editorial in the 'British Columbian', January 30, 1861²⁻⁷, compares the growth of New Westminster with that of the other towns in the colony and with Victoria. It also shows how highly Colonel Moody was esteemed by his fellow citizens.

(32) Douglas to Moody, F 485, December 6, 1859. (Douglas Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(33) Lundin Brown, R. C., British Columbia - An Essay, New Westminster, 1863, P. 6.

Notwithstanding all her natural difficulties and the virulent and potent attacks by her enemies New Westminster has continued from the first to make steady, healthy and - in proportion to the population of the Colony and the business transacted therein - rapid progress. Three years ago her site was covered with a dense and mighty forest - indeed at that time the site was not chosen, nor probably dreamed of, save by one man, as the spot for a great city - the future capital of a great Colony. At that period Victoria had about 3,000 inhabitants and upwards to 500 houses; she has a vast amount of capital invested and nearly as many business firms as she possess to-day, with the lucrative trade of this colony entirely in her fist, and none to dispute her rule of it. Langley was laid out and sold and a thriving town commenced. Hope, Yale and Douglas were nearly as large as they are now; and Lytton and Lillooet were under way. This site was almost unanimously condemned at the time the selection was made, and the Chief Commissioner was bitterly lampooned by interested and hireling scribblers, and lustily abused by those who had a property interest in the discarded site of Langley.

What are the facts now? Where is Langley, the site which Colonel Moody rendered himself so unpopular with a certain class for abandoning in favour of this place? If it possessed so many natural advantages over New Westminster, how is it that the latter has completely annihilated it? And not only so, but she has far outstripped every other town in the Colony. And where is the Chief Commissioner, whose selection of the site made him so many enemies and earned him so much abuse? The reaction has come; men have had time for reflection, and have become thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the choice. The great service rendered by our Chief Commissioner is now appreciated, and he is reaping the just reward of his labors in seeing, not only his policy understood and vindicated

by the people, but this city rapidly and surely
advancing. (34)

(34) British Columbian, January 30, 1862.
This is in the true John Robson style.

Chapter 8

New Westminster - Political Development.

Great firmness and discretion were required of Colonel Moody, his officers, and men in performing their arduous and multifarious duties in building up the new capital of British Columbia. Their busy responsible life involved not only unusual physical and mental toil but also long-sufferance and misunderstanding. Almost from the first Moody was hindered in fulfilling his work by severe criticism from Douglas. The 'British Colonist' - always antagonistic to the Governor - at first heartily supported Moody but soon he, like all other government officials, came under the attack of Amor De Cosmos. On the other hand the 'British Columbian', edited by John Robson, was a most ardent supporter of Moody. Finally, such bitter and subtle jealousy developed between Victoria and New Westminster that it is difficult at times to determine whether the quarrel was between the two cities, the two officials or the two editors.

However the influence of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers cannot be over-estimated in the new capital. The colonel himself, always jolly and popular with his fellow citizens, declared that his sole duty was that of promoting the best interests of the country. Almost every phase of

(1) British Colonist, September 5, 1859, P. 3.

public and social interest in New Westminster was instituted or revolved around the 'gallant' colonel, his popular officers and worthy corps.

(2)

According to recommendations from Lytton, Douglas was to appoint an executive council in British Columbia and representative institutions were to be adopted as soon as possible. In comparing the management of affairs in British Columbia and in Canada MacDonald states:

There is in Canada a legislative Assembly, the members of which are elected by the people and responsible to the electors, as in Great Britain; but in British Columbia there is no legislative Assembly and it was only after much pressure from without that Governor Douglas was compelled to nominate an executive Council. (3)

This is true as the British Columbia 'Despatches' to Sir E. B. Lytton indicate. Finally an Executive Council, consisting of Governor Douglas, Colonel Moody, and Judge Begbie was appointed on March 1, 1859. Although Douglas reports conferring with these two members of the executive council on several occasions before this date, there is no record of his having done so after the establishment of New

(4)

(5)

(2) Supra, P. 8.
Cf. Lytton's Speeches, Vol. II, P. 83.

(3) MacDonald, op. cit., P. 260.

(4) B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Lytton, March 1, 1859.

(5) ibid., February 5, 1859.

Westminster. Douglas' rule on the mainland was supreme.

In May, 1860, the people of New Westminster asked to incorporate their town and appoint municipal officers to manage its revenues. The governor considered their proposition extremely moderate, embracing as it did only two chief points - the right to tax themselves and to apply the taxes to grading the streets and to the general improvement of the town. Writing to the Duke of Newcastle, Douglas said:

Your Grace will observe that the powers of the Council are so limited by the supervision of the Commissioner of Lands and Works on the one hand, and the rate payers on the other, as almost to remove the danger of abuse, and I am of opinion that the City will be greatly benefitted by its exertions, and by the expenditures on substantial and much-needed improvements. (6)

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- (6) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 7. (Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, May 23, 1860).
Cf. Despatches from Governor Douglas to the Colonial Office, P. 119. (Douglas to Newcastle, May 23, 1860).
 In June, 1859, the Derby administration was replaced by that of Lord Palmerston. Sir E. B. Lytton was replaced at the Colonial Office by the Duke of Newcastle, under whom Herman Merivale held the office of Under-Secretary of State. British Columbia lost a good friend in Sir E. B. Lytton. Neither were the Duke of Newcastle nor the 'Administration' as sympathetic with problems in the new colonies as their predecessors. The 'British Columbian' states: "There is little doubt that the colonies in general, and British Columbia in particular, sustained a grievous loss in the retirement of Sir E. B. Lytton from the Colonial Office. And that his successor has been our misfortune, is equally evident. An old fossil, of the Tory school, and identified with the blighting curse - The Hudson (sic) Bay Company - to boot, the Duke of Newcastle is probably the worst man that could be selected to fill that important position." (British Columbian, December 19, 1861).

(7) Thus by 'The New Westminster Municipal Council Act', 1860, (proclaimed July 16, 1860) the request was granted and the Royal City has therefore the honor of being the first municipality in the province of British Columbia, Victoria not being incorporated until the summer of 1861.

The Municipal Council, consisting of seven members elected from four wards "was to hold office for one year without remuneration".⁽⁸⁾ The president, as the mayor was called, was one of the councillors elected by themselves. The members of the first city council elected in 1860 were:⁽⁹⁾

L. McLure - President (Editor of the 'New Westminster Times'.)

E. Brown
W. J. Armstrong
H. Holbrook
J. A. R. Homer
A. H. Manson
W. E. Cormack

The Municipal Council possessed very limited powers but undoubtedly was better than nothing. In the first two years it taxed the citizens of New Westminster 'to the extent

(7) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, PP. 16-20.

(8) ibid., P. 7. (Douglas to Duke of Newcastle, May 23, 1860) Two interesting points here in light of modern views on both questions.

(9) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley. (Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, P. 3).

(10)
 of something over 10,000 dollars' and with that amount, plus
 an \$8000.00 grant from the colonial government, accomplished
 wonders. However the people were far from satisfied with its
 scope. They looked upon it as "an institution so miserably
 limited in its powers for good or evil as to be little short
 of an insult to a free and intelligent community". (11)

Although there is no record to lead one to suppose
 that Colonel Moody or any member of the Royal Engineer Corps
 took part in the political life of New Westminster, Douglas
 considered it necessary to advise him to decline any civic
 honor in New Westminster as it would injure his authority 'as
 umpire' in public works. (12) Possibly Moody had been considered
 eligible for the office of Councillor. (13) At any rate, during
 his sojourn in the Royal City his name does not appear in
 political circles. It is true, however, that Moody was a
 close friend of John Robson who, as editor of the 'British
 Columbian', opponent of the autocratic rule of Governor Doug-
 las, and constant supporter of constitutional government,

(10) British Columbian, July 12, 1862.

(11) ibid., July 2, 1862.
Cf. B. C. Proclamations, Powers of the City of New West-
 minster Ordinance, July 16, 1860.

(12) Private Letter Book, 1859-1864. (Douglas to Moody,
 August 3, 1860 - Provincial Archives).

(13) I cannot find any record of this.

wielded a great influence in the capital. The policy of Governor Douglas towards the work of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers is so frequently attacked by John Robson in editorials in the 'British Columbian' that one realizes that Colonel Moody, although in the background, was an important political force.

Until 1863 there was no law-making body in the new colony, all laws being promulgated by Governor Douglas. From the first, however, New Westminster had resented this autocratic rule and had by means of repeated petitions and memorials demanded a resident governor 'whose interests instead of being connected with any rival, will be thoroughly identified with the interests of the colony' and a Representative Government - 'similar to those existent in Australia and the Eastern British North America colonies'. Finally in 1863 an Imperial order-in-council was passed constituting a Legislative Council for British Columbia and the first meeting was held in the old barracks of the Royal Engineers at Sapperton, on January 21, 1864. Colonel Moody was endeavouring to build

(14) Lytton's Speeches. Vol. II, P. 83.

(15) British Columbian, February 28, 1861. These 'Memorials' appear frequently in the British Columbian during the years 1861-1863.

(16) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley. Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, P. 3.

up his 'dream city' against this unsettled political background.

Chapter 9

New Westminster - Social Development.

Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers are closely linked up with the social development of the city of New Westminster. The Colonel had become popular with the people in Victoria and his appointment in the new colony was looked upon with favour as is evident in the report of the launching of the Steamboat 'Colonel Moody'.

The Colonel was very well received. . . The gallant Colonel appeared to have a good idea of the people among whom he is cast, and his sincerity and straightforwardness combined with an unostentatious manner will do much towards smoothing over difficulties and developing the resources of a young country. (1)

The first public function reported to have taken place in Queensborough was the occasion of the Queen's birthday, May 24, 1859. The day was spent in a review of the troops of the Royal Engineers and Royal Marines, followed by a programme of sports and amusements. 'Lieutenant-Governor Moody and Lady' were greatly 'cheered' by the people. In contrast to this Governor Douglas 'without his lady' attended the races on Beacon Hill, 'almost unnoticed.'⁽²⁾

The 'Young Men's Christian Association', was one of

(1) British Colonist, May 16, 1859, P. 2.

(2) ibid., May 30, 1859, P. 3.

the earliest organizations formed in New Westminster. Colonel Moody was elected its first president. On being thanked for the able manner in which he had conducted the meeting he said 'that he came here from England with the sole object of promoting the best interest of the country, and in aiding in the promotion of the objects of this association he was but performing his duty'.

(3)

The problem of educating the children of the Royal Engineers was in the hands of the chaplain of the corps but difficulties which arose were referred to Colonel Moody. The greatest problem was raising money to pay the salary of the schoolmistress - only those engineers who had children attending school were contributing to the fund and that in proportion to the number of children attending school.

Reverend John Sheepshanks, acting chaplain to the detachment, on June 27, 1860, reported 28 children representing 13 families in regular attendance for four hours a day and being instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic and in the rudiments of the Christian faith. The schoolmistress, a daughter of one of the Engineers, was receiving, by the monthly school payments, a little over £70 per annum. Mr. Sheep-

(3) British Colonist, September 5, 1859.

(4) Sheepshanks to Moody, June 27, 1860, F 1152. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). Free education had not at this time been instituted in Great Britain.

shanks considered that the Royal Engineers concerned were paying as much as they could afford, but, at the same time he realized that the salary was quite insufficient for the schoolmistress and was equal only to about one-half of that received elsewhere in British Columbia or on Vancouver Island. Mr. Sheepshanks believed that £70 and a house should be the lowest remuneration that could be fixed upon. (5) However nothing (6) was done to remedy this.

On March 19, 1861, Colonel Moody reported a total absence of education for children of the Royal Engineers - the former teacher having been dismissed for misconduct. There were at that time 70 children in the colony, 31 of whom were of the age to attend school. Moody suggested that the War Department be approached for a grant, which, under certain circumstances, was contributed towards the education of soldiers' children. Douglas sanctioned this 'purely military' expenditure only after Moody assured him it was the practice (7) of the War Department.

In January, 1862, Archdeacon Wright was given per-

(5) Sheepshanks to Moody, June 27, 1860, F 1152. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(6) Moody to Colonial Secretary, Victoria, March 19, 1861, F 1155. (Moody Correspondence).

(7) ibid., (Moody Correspondence - Victoria Archives).

mission to appoint Mrs. Moresby, a duly qualified teacher from Victoria. Her salary was to consist of fees paid by the parents of children attending school plus a grant of £50, for one year, provided by Governor Douglas. However the Secretary of State for War was to be approached for the salary. In writing to the latter Archdeacon Wright stated:

The Officers and men of the Military Settlement have not only been professionally useful to B. Columbia but they have given to New Westminster a British character which will long have an influence for good upon the Colony and it would be hard indeed if the children of the Detachment, many of whom will settle in the colony should from neglect in early life not be able to carry on the same healthy influence. (9)

Mr. Wright suggested that £80, quarters and rations should be allowed to a duly qualified teacher. On May 28, 1862, Moody reported 37 children in the Royal Engineers' Camp. Of these 13 boys and 14 girls were of the age of five years or over. The total school enrolment was 42. The men, quite alive to the value of good education for their children contributed as much as possible. Fees amounted to something over £79 while the grant from the War Office amounted to £18 per annum. Thus

(8) Moody Correspondence, F 1156, January 8, 1862.

(9) Wright to Secretary of State for War, January 17, 1862, F 1156. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(10) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 303. Moody to Wright, May 28, 1862.

the teacher's salary amounted to a little less than £98 per annum. Mrs. Moresby was not satisfied with this amount for the Archdeacon writes:

the present teacher is eminently qualified for her post and it would be a thousand pities to lose her, but I fear it will be hopeless to retain her long on a salary so disproportionate to the remuneration she may obtain elsewhere in the colony. (11)

If, and how, the educational problems were settled in the 'Camp' there is no record, nor is there any educational report for the year 1863.

The first public school in New Westminster was designed and built by the Royal Engineers in 1862. In August of the same year, the first teacher, Miss Nagle, commenced her duties. In March, 1863, an experienced teacher, James McIlveen, was appointed, the enrolment at that time being 16. The salary consisted of £100 tuition fees plus £100 from colonial funds. This is quite a contrast to the salary re-

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- (11) Royal Engineer's Letter Book 3, P. 303 (Moody to Wright, May 20, 1862). No reference is made of the £50 grant from Governor Douglas. He probably discontinued it when a grant was sent from War Office. Considering the cost of living in the colony £98.0.0 was a low wage.
- (12) Wolfenden, The Royal Engineers and Their Work in British Columbia. (Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette - addenda). Cf. Howay, Royal Engineers in British Columbia, P. 9.
- (13) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley, The Fraser River Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, 1912. Cf. The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette.

ceived at the same time by Mrs. Moresby at 'The Camp'.

From the beginning the principal religious bodies were well represented in the capital. The first clergyman to arrive was Reverend Edward White, a Methodist minister, who reached New Westminster on April 1, 1859. The first resident Episcopal clergyman was the Reverend John Sheepshanks who came in August 1859. Until the erection of Holy Trinity Church, services were held in the treasury building. Holy Trinity Church, itself, was designed by the Royal Engineers, its corner stone being laid by Bishop Hills on May 22, 1860, and the edifice consecrated on Advent Sunday, 1860. St. Mary's Church at Sapperton was also designed by the Royal Engineers. Reverend Robert Jamieson, pioneer Presbyterian minister, arrived in March, 1862.

The Royal Columbian Hospital was established in 1862, after a long campaign ably supported by Colonel Moody, Dr. Seddal, and the Royal Engineers. The chief difficulty was in obtaining a government grant from Governor Douglas. That it was a real struggle is evident by editorials and letters

(14) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley. The Fraser River Centennial Edition, P. 5.
Cf. Howay, The Royal Engineers in British Columbia, P.9.
Cf. Wolfenden, The Royal Engineers and Their Work in British Columbia. (Holy Trinity Church was destroyed by fire in 1865, rebuilt and destroyed by fire again in 1898 and rebuilt).

in the 'British Columbian' starting in August, 1861. The
 first money raised toward the 'Royal Columbian Hospital Fund'
 was the proceeds of a concert given by the Royal Engineers
 Club in December, 1861. The proceeds amounted to \$354.50.
 Public subscriptions finally amounted to \$3,285. The govern-
 ment finally gave an appropriation of £800 towards the erection
 and outfit of the hospital. A land grant of lots 8, 9, 35,
 37 and 38 in suburban block 6, and lots 17 and 18 in block 31
 were also obtained from Governor Douglas. Plans were pre-
 pared by the Royal Engineers and the contract was given to T.
 W. Graham, for \$3,396. The hospital was opened on October 7,

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- (15) British Columbian, February 6, 1862. An editorial com-
 plains that Douglas had taken 59 days to reply to their
 petition and then offered no help.
- (16) ibid., December 12, 1861, P. 2.
- (17) ibid., March 6, 1862. (gives list of subscribers, headed
 by Douglas and Moody who gave \$100.00 each. The Royal
 Engineers gave very liberally.)
- (18) ibid., February 13, 1862.
- (19) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River
 Valley. The Fraser River Centennial Edition of the
British Columbian, P. 5.
- (20) ibid., P. 5.

(21)
1862. The first board of management, elected in February,
(22)
1862, consisted of:

Colonel Moody, R.E.	- President
John Robson	- Vice-President
A. T. Bushby	- Secretary
John Cooper	- Treasurer
Ebenezer Brown	
W. G. Peacock	- Committee
Ernest Picht	

Moody, however, resigned from the Hospital Board the follow-
(23)
ing month.

The Royal Engineers built at their own cost a reading-room and library. Before leaving England they had raised a fund for the purchase of books to bring out to the new colony. Sir E. B. Lytton, becoming interested in it, personally selected the volumes. As a result a small but complete library was formed. After the disbanding of the Royal Engineers in 1863, the library was transferred to the Mechanics' Institute in New Westminster and became the nucleus
(24)
of the first public library in the colony.

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- (21) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley, The Fraser River Centennial Edition of the British Columbian, P. 5.
- (22) British Columbian, February 13, 1862.
- (23) ibid., March 6, 1862. (No reason is given for the resignation but Moody knew that Douglas disapproved of his accepting any public office). Captain Cooper was elected President in Moody's place.
- (24) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 3. (A description of this library some years later appears in Morley Roberts's "Western Avernus"). (Howay)

Members of the corps also formed a club - called the 'Royal Engineers Dramatic Association' - which entertained both Royal Engineers and the citizens of New Westminster at various 'benefit' concerts and plays throughout the winter months. These entertainments were held in the 'Royal Theatre' which they built for that purpose. That these entertainments lent a 'military' touch to the social life of New Westminster is evident by prominence given to them in the social columns of the 'British Columbian'. In reporting a theatrical entertainment given by the Royal Engineers club in the Royal Theatre on January 16, 1861, the paper states:

The citizens generally are under obligations to the Royal Engineers for their winter evening entertainments and we can assure the gentlemen composing the R. E. Club that their efforts are appreciated. (25)

Reporting the last entertaining for the season of 1861:

The Royal Engineers club gave a theatrical entertainment in the above building (Theatre Royal) to a large audience, composed of the military and their families and a large sprinkling of civilians. In the gallery we noticed the presence of his Excellency and suite, Col. Moody, and the other officers of the R.E. detachment.

Their departure will certainly cause a vacuum in our midst that will not be filled up for some time to come. (26)

(25) British Columbian, January 16, 1862, P. 2.

(26) ibid., March 7, 1861, P. 2.

Announcements and reports of military balls also frequently appeared in the paper.

Not only at the social functions but also in other phases of life did the Royal Engineers prove themselves worthy citizens of New Westminster. On February 28, 1861, a 'Bee' to clear the cricket ground was reported among the news items.

To see one hundred Royal Engineers including their officers, with nearly as many civilians 'as busy as bees', some cutting down trees, some grubbing out stumps, and others piling wood upon several enormous fires, kindled for the purpose of consuming the timber. It was pleasing indeed to witness the happy reunion of the military and the citizens; but especially to see the officers for the time laying aside all distinction, and heartily uniting with the men in the arduous but praiseworthy employment of clearing the cricket ground. Shortly after two o'clock, His Excellency accompanied by Colonel Moody came upon the ground, and while the former was making himself agreeable to the people, the latter was making himself useful by taking hold, like a good fellow, and working amongst these men. (27)

The first Industrial Exhibition in British Columbia was held on November 13, 1861, when prizes were given for agricultural and horticultural products. Corporal William Hall, R.E., exhibited specimens of native birds and Dr. Seddall a fine collection of mineral specimens and Indian curios. (28)

(27) British Columbian, February 28, 1861.

(28) Howay, The Inception of Civilization in the Fraser River Valley. The British Columbian Centennial Edition, P. 5.

British Columbia was also represented in the International Industrial Exhibition of 1862, in London. Thanks to Colonel Moody, president of the 'Industrial Committee', who showed a keen interest in the movement, the various resources (29) of the new colony were exhibited.

The 'Royal Engineers' Benefit Building Society' was formed in 1862. The patron of this society was His Excellency, Governor Douglas; Colonel Moody and the Officers of the Royal Engineers were Vice-Patrons, Attorney-General Crease, Standing Council; and the Bank of British Columbia was their bank. The society was limited to 24 members each paying £2 10s monthly. This amounted to £60 a month for the 24 members and £60 apiece for each member during the two years that the association expected to be in existence. Each month £60 was drawn by lot and expended in erecting buildings, purchasing or improving real estate upon which a mortgage was taken. The purpose of the association was 'to promote provident habits' among the engineers and assist them to provide comfortable homes when their duties terminated in the fall of 1864. It was an excellent society. Many lots were purchased, houses built and the town of Sapperton, now an important suburb of New West-

(29) British Columbian, November 21, 1861, P. 2.
Cf. ibid., June 18, 1862.

(30)
minster, founded.

The Royal Engineers designed the first postal stamp -
(31)
used in the colony. Although Colonel Moody did not have charge of the postal service his assistance was frequently solicited. On February 20, 1859, Chartres Brew, Chief Inspector of Police for British Columbia, wrote to Moody from Fort Yale explaining that postal facilities provided by the governor did not extend sufficiently far afield to be of use to the miners. He said:

There are many complaints here of the irregularity and uncertainty of the mails. Merchants would rather send their letters by Bellor's (Bellou's) Express at the cost of half a Dollar than put it in the post at 3 cents and remain in uncertainty when it would reach its destination. . . (32)

In April, 1859, Captain W. R. Spaulding was appointed magistrate for New Westminster district and entrusted with the supervision of the postal arrangements. He was instructed to apply to Colonel Moody for assistance in looking after the
(33)
mail. Captain Gosset, R.R. was later responsible for the

(30) British Columbian, October 4, 1862.
Of. Wolfenden, Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda.

(31) Wolfenden, Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda.

(32) Quoted in Deaville, Alfred Stanley, The Colonial Postal Systems and Postage Stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871, 1928, P. 48.

(33) Deaville, op. cit., PP. 54-55.

management of postal affairs but in this as well as in other Colonial affairs he soon found himself at variance with the governor. For two years the 'British Columbian' fought for a postal system for the colony. However when the postal rates were finally announced by the 'absentee autocrat of British Columbia', the exorbitant rates proved prohibitive. An editorial in the 'British Columbian' said:

. . . we may be pardoned if we allude to the fact that the present rate for newspapers to the up-rivers towns, is a rate equaling the original subscription price of the paper! And we may be pardoned if we state that under no government under heaven would such an absurd rate be introduced except perhaps that of Siberia and British Columbia. (37)

(34) Deaville, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

(35) British Columbian, July 26, 1862.

(36) Appendix II.

(37) British Columbian, August 2, 1862, P. 3. (Papers could be sent from New Westminster to London at that time for one penny).

Chapter 10

Roads and Surveys.

The onrush of gold-seekers in 1858 necessitated the establishment of communications with the interior. Douglas' one civilian effort on the Harrison-Lillooet Road had proved a failure because of the lack of competent surveyors. ⁽¹⁾ This lack was filled by the arrival of the Royal Engineers on whom, according to Sir E. B. Lytton, the responsibility for all road surveys in British Columbia was to rest. ⁽²⁾ Moody, realizing the tremendous task before him, pointed out that the Royal Engineers were incapable of accomplishing all the works contemplated and assigned to them on their departure from England. He felt that they could do little more than attend to the survey of townsites and to the rural surveys - the opening up of the great communications of the country would have to be otherwise provided for unless the development of the colony be disastrously retarded. ⁽³⁾ Thus throughout the 'Engineer' period, road-building by civilian contractors supplemented that of the

(1) Supra, P. 49.

(2) Douglas Letter Book IV, P. 8, October 16, 1858).

(3) Douglas to Lytton, March 18, 1859, PRO. CO. 60.4. (Desp. 4803 No. 117) Douglas Moody and R.E. (enclosure). (Ferguson, Thesis, P. 57).

(4) corps. Such names as G. B. Wright, Joseph W. Trutch, Edgar Dewdney, Thomas Spence, Walter Moberly, Charles Oppenheimer, T. B. Lewis and William Hood cannot be omitted when considering the early history of communications in British Columbia.

Three main routes were planned into the interior. The Harrison-Lillooet, upon which a great deal of work was expended during the first two years, was the one favored by Douglas but harshly criticized by opponents of the Government. The Yale-Lytton - the famous Cariboo Highway - was considered the best route by Moody, while the Hope-Similkameen was early envisioned as a 'transcontinental' route by the governor. Although Colonel Moody left no final graphic account of operations carried on in road-building, details can be found in the Royal Engineers Letter Books in the Provincial Archives at Victoria. It is difficult to apportion the credit for a great

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- (4) This was contrary to Lytton's orders to Douglas (B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 71, Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858). Lytton cautioned Douglas against accepting the services of other surveyors whose employment would add to the heavy expenses of the colony.
- (5) Moody Correspondence, F 485a, June 1, 1859. (Douglas to Moody). G. B. Wright was considered the best.
- (6) British Columbian, December 19, 1861.
- (7) Moody examined route and considered it gave promise for a railway line. (Moody Correspondence, August, 1860).
- (8) Brief summaries of the work can be found in:
 Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, PP. 1-11.
 Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., PP. 55-127 passim.
 Howay says that 'all the main roads were laid out by them'.

deal of the road-building of the period to any one in particular as the civilian-contractors frequently worked under the supervision of the 'Engineers'. Moody appears to have used his specialists as a rule in those places where civilians were either unequipped or incompetent.

In 1859, while some of the men were busy in building their camp at New Westminster, others were equally active in exploring, surveying or working on trails. Douglas was anxious for a good road into the interior via the Harrison and Lillooet lakes. During May and June, Lieutenant Palmer surveyed the road (a trail already existed) between Douglas and Lillooet, and later in the summer Captain Grant, with nearly a hundred Royal Engineers, Royal Marines, and civilians, was employed in improving communications between the various lakes
(9)
on the route.

At the same time Lieutenant Lemprière with a small party explored from Hope up the Coquihalla and thence along the left bank of the Anderson River to Boston Bar, and along
(10)
the left bank of the Fraser River to Lytton. After their re-

(9) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 93.
Cf. Grant to Moody, November 19, 1859. (Moody Correspondence F 1152).
Cf. Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, PP. 26, 29-30, 37, 46, PP. 58-59, 105.

(10) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 167. (Moody to Lemprière February 3, 1860).

port had been received another party of the Engineers made - and completed by August - a trail along this route.

In the same year, 1859, a trail was built from New Westminster to Burrard Inlet. This was the beginning of the North Road which connects New Westminster and Port Moody today.

In September and October, 1859, Lieutenant Palmer carefully explored the country between Hope and the Columbia River. One has only to read the long report which discusses the area covered from the topographical, geological and military point of view, to realize how expert, systematic, and careful these engineers were.

In March, 1860, Captain Grant, with a detachment of eighty men of the corps, started to work again on the southern section of the Harrison-Lillooet route. Their plan was to

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- (11) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, PP. 108-110.
 Cf. Douglas to Moody, F 485, December 23, 1859. (Moody Correspondence).
 Cf. Howay, Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet, 1863-1878, The British Columbia Quarterly, January, 1937, P. 1.
 Cf. British Columbian, February 13, 1861.
- (12) This report is found in Provincial Archives - very detailed and long. Also in B. C. Papers, Pt. III, PP. 79-89.
- (13) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 4. (Douglas to Newcastle, April 23, 1860).

(14)

deepen the channel through the shoal of the Harrison River. Driven from their work in June by the rising of the river, Captain Grant's party with civilian assistance resumed work on the twenty-eight-mile wagon-road (12 feet wide) between Douglas and the Little Lillooet Lake. (15) The road was practically completed to the 28-Mile House at Little Lillooet Lake by the end of October.

This road (says Captain Barrett-Lennard) as far as it was then finished, lay through a wild rocky district; on the left hand of it flowed the Harrison, sometimes broad and shallow, brawling over stones, sometimes deep and narrow, and rushing through a 'gorge'. (16)

In his report to the Duke of Newcastle, Douglas appears to be well-pleased with the work.

. . . a work of magnitude and of the utmost public utility, which, I think it only right to inform your Grace, has been laid out and executed by Captain Grant and a detachment of Royal Engineers under his command with a degree of care and professional ability reflecting the highest credit on that active and indefatigable officer. (17)

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- (14) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 4. (Douglas to Newcastle, April 23, 1860). This is the section of the river which prevents its navigation even now, as it is only during a freshet that there is sufficient water to float an ordinary river steamer.
- (15) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, PP. 222-223, 226. Cf. B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 5. (Douglas to Newcastle, April 23, 1860).
- (16) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 7.
- (17) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 23. (Douglas to Newcastle, October 9, 1860).

During the summer, 1860, Sergeant McColl, with another detachment of the corps, located the trail from Hope towards the Similkameen as far as the summit or the punch-bowl, carrying it over an elevation of 4000 feet without a single gradient exceeding 1 foot in 12. ⁽¹⁸⁾ In the same summer, Edgar Dewdney (with whom Walter Moberly was associated) built the first trail from Hope to the Similkameen (the Dewdney ⁽¹⁹⁾ Trail) along this route.

A trail from Yale to Spuzzum following the course of the Fraser, along the mountain side, at a moderate elevation above the river, was built by Powers and McRoberts in the summer of 1860. This trail, quite distinct from the older trail used by the Hudson's Bay Company, was later developed into a wagon-road by the Royal Engineers. Reporting the work to the Duke of Newcastle, Douglas said:

The arduous part of this undertaking - excavating the mountain near Yale - was executed entirely by a detachment of the Royal Engineers under Sergeant-Major George Cann, and it has been completed in a manner highly creditable to themselves and to the officers who directed the

(18) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 30. (Douglas to Newcastle, October 25, 1860).
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 7.

(19) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 240.
Cf. Moody to Douglas, July 6, 1860. (Moody Correspondence).
Cf. Douglas to Moody, F 485b, July 10, 1860.

operations. (20)

Whenever Douglas wished information concerning the new colony he could find competent men among the 'Engineers' to undertake an investigation for him. From the middle of June until the end of the summer of 1860, Captain Parsons and a party of the corps explored the country adjacent to the Sumas and Chilliwack Rivers at the Governor's request. They were ascertaining the advisability of building a wagon-road from the tide-water to Yale (a project in which Governor Douglas was especially interested) and also the feasibility of utilizing the rich farming lands of the locality. While touring the country in the fall of 1860, Douglas, considering the trail from Pemberton to Lillooet unsatisfactory, sent two parties under Sappers Breckenridge and Duffy to examine the locality for a better route. Apparently no better route could be found as no change is recorded.

(21)

In 1861 the Royal Engineers continued improving the Douglas-Lillooet Road. On the twenty-eight mile stretch separating Douglas from Little Lillooet Lake was a very steep

(20) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 30. (Douglas to Newcastle, October 25, 1860).

Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 7.

(21) B. C. Papers, Pt. IV, P. 26. (Douglas to Newcastle, October 9, 1860).

Cf. Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 331.

and dangerous hill called 'Gibraltar'. A detachment of the corps and a number of civilians under Sergeant Bridgeman spent the summer making a cut-off and reducing the grades at this spot. For his excellent work here Sergeant Bridgeman was known as the 'Conqueror of Gibraltar'.

At the same time Captain Grant, with 80 sappers and 90 civilians, was busy commencing a road to the Similkameen in order to improve communications with the diggings at Rock Creek. This new road did not follow the trail built the previous year although it did touch it here and there. By October the work was completed to Skagit Flats, 25 miles from Hope. From there on the existing trail was merely to be widened. For this three parties were chosen: the first under Sergeant L. F. Bonson, the second under Corporal William Hall and the third under Sergeant John McMurphy. However, with the opening up of William, Antler and other rich creeks on the Cariboo, the Hope-Similkameen Road was abandoned.

By this time Governor Douglas was convinced a wagon-road from Yale to Lytton was a necessity. A detachment of

(22) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 270.

(23) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 8.

(24) Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., Vol. II, P. 96.

Royal Engineers was sent to survey for a wagon-road (18 feet wide) from Yale to Boston Bar and from Lytton to Cook's Ferry (Spence's Bridge).⁽²⁵⁾ The early reports showed that a wagon-road, if built, would have to cross the Fraser River. To determine the best point Sergeant McColl with another party of Royal Engineers examined the locality.⁽²⁶⁾ The spot selected was the one upon which Joseph ~~Bridge~~^{FRUTCH} built the Alexander Suspension Bridge⁽²⁷⁾ in 1863. In 1861 also, the trail from New Westminster to Burrard Inlet⁽²⁸⁾ was converted into a good military wagon-road.

The year 1862, was devoted to building a wagon-road from Yale to Clinton (The famous Cariboo Road) where it would connect with the existing Lillooet Road. This was the most difficult task undertaken by these early road builders. In May, Captain Grant, with a detachment of 53 Royal Engineers, began the road at Yale.⁽²⁹⁾ By November six miles had been completed. The road, cut and built out of solid rock, was a further tribute to the excellent work performed by the Royal Engineers in general and by Captain Grant in particular. The

(25) The reconnaissance sketch of this survey is preserved in the Provincial Archives.

(26) The British Columbian, July 25, August 1, 1861.

(27) This is known as North Road today.

(28) B. C. Proclamations, 1863, No. 10.
Cf. British Columbian, February 6, 1862.

(29) British Columbian, May 12, 1862.

few sections that remain verify the statement in the 'British Columbian' which says:

Some of their work will stand long as the everlasting rocks, an enduring monument of engineering skill and patient toil. (30)

A large portion of the Cariboo Wagon Road was built by civilians. The stretch from the six-mile post to Chapman's Bar (suspension bridge) was built by Thomas Spence in 1862; from Chapman's Bar to Boston Bar by J. W. Trutch in 1863; from Boston Bar to Lytton by Spence and Langvoldt in 1862. Moberly and Oppenheimer had the contract from Lytton to Spence's Bridge in 1862-1863. (31)

(30) British Columbian, July 18, 1863.

(31) Scholefield and Gosnel, Pt. I, (Scholefield), Sixty Years of Progress British Columbia, Vancouver and Victoria, 1913, P. 77. It seems that Douglas did not even consult Moody regarding the building of the Cariboo Road. By the time it was started Douglas had practically taken the road-building projects into his own hands. (This will be discussed later). The previous year he had ignored Moody when making plans for building the Hope-Similkameen Road. Why Douglas acted so is difficult to say. Three suggestions may be offered - (1) he always preferred to do things himself (2) he did not like Moody and (3) he knew that Moody favoured this route from the first and would not give him the satisfaction of being consulted. The Royal Engineers, however, did survey all the road; Moody himself inspected a great deal of it; and the Engineers built 13 miles of the wagon road plus the trail from Quesnelmouth to Barkerville - a distance of 63 miles. It would have been impossible for the Royal Engineers to do more in the time they had at their disposal as they were busy building or improving other roads at the time. It must be remembered also that they were a small group. At one time the contractors advertised for 1000 men to work on one section of the road alone. (Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 101.

In July, 1862, Lieutenant Palmer explored a route from Bentinck Arm to Fort Alexandria and thence to Williams Creek. Like his former report on the district lying between Hope and the Columbia River in 1859, this is an exhaustive study. Commenting on Palmer's work Howay says:

It, like all the reports of these trained men, seems to be the final word on the subject. His minute examination covering a period of three months made it clear that the road then being constructed to Cariboo through the canyons of the Fraser was the more suitable route. This line showed for a space of fifteen miles a continuous average grade of 182 feet per mile, a great part of which was on loose rock and precipitous mountain slopes. (33)

The last year of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia was equally busy. Some repair work was done on the Harrison-Lillooet route but the Cariboo wagon-road, being more direct, always accessible by water, and unbroken by portages was already the more popular thoroughfare. Little attention was paid hereafter to the Harrison-Lillooet road.

In 1863, Lieutenant Palmer with a body of sappers built the first stretch of nine miles of the Cariboo Wagon Road east along the course of the Thompson River from Cook

(32) Moody Correspondence - original report. (Provincial Archives).

Cf. B. C. Papers, Passim.

Cf. British Columbian, March, April, 1863.

Cf. Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, Passim.

(33) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 8.

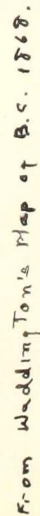
(34)
 Ferry (Spence's Bridge). This road connected with a portion being built by William Hood of Cache Creek.

In the same year, Joseph W. Trutch built the Alexandra Suspension Bridge over the Fraser River. This work had to be accepted by the Government before tolls could be collected. The duty of examining the bridge was placed in the hands of Lieutenant Palmer who passed it as satisfactory in September, 1863.

This year, 1863, Grant was in the north. The existing route into Williams Creek by way of the Forks of Quesnel, Snowshoe Mountain, and the headwaters of Antler Creek, was built at a high elevation and difficult for winter travelling. Governor Douglas wished an alternative route to be made, via Quesnelmouth and Cottonwood River. Accordingly, a route was selected and a trail built under the superintendence of Captain Grant. The whole distance of 63 miles from Quesnelmouth to Barkerville had been completed by September and Grant himself rode the entire distance in one day. Palmer declared it to be
 (35)
 'the one good trail in Cariboo'. In the same year Grant located a line in the vicinity of Williams Lake and Deep Creek

(34) E. C. Proclamations, 1863, No. 9.

(35) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 9.
 (Refers to Palmer's address to the Royal Geographical Society in March, 1864).



for Gustavus Blinn Wright who was building a wagon-road from Clinton to Alexandria.

In 1863 also, Lance-Corporal George Turner surveyed not only Lots 184, 185, 186 and 187, upon which a part of the City of Vancouver now stands, but also made a complete survey of the shore-line from Hastings Townsite around Brockton Point to English Bay and False Creek.

As far as these roads were concerned Colonel Moody gave very definite and carefully-worked out instructions to his officers. Not only was he interested in the sections of the roads being built by the Royal Engineers themselves but also felt responsible for those let out to the civilian surveyors.
(36)

Thus by the end of 1863 the Royal Engineers had, besides building up New Westminster, explored a great deal of the colony of British Columbia; surveyed the whole peninsula between Burrard Inlet and the Fraser River, surveyed and laid out towns and surveyed the adjacent country lands; laid out all the main roads and built large portions of the Douglas-

(36) Moody's Memo Book I gives many examples - Note - especially letters dated July 10, 1862, and July 15, 1862. The length of the roads were as follows:

Harrison-Lillooet	-	100	miles	approximately
Hope-Similkameen	-	25	"	"
Cariboo Road	-	400	"	"

Lillooet, Hope-Similkameen, Cariboo and North Roads. Practically all the maps of the colony were made from their surveys, sketched in their drafting office, lithographed and published at their camp.

One letter from the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, is sufficient to reveal the attitude and ignorance of the British Government in regard to the tremendous problems of road building in the new colony of British Columbia. Replying to a despatch from Governor Douglas written on August 23, 1859, Newcastle states:

. . . There is much in that report which affords satisfactory evidence of the value of this Colony as a British possession; but it is impossible to peruse your Despatch without being struck with the little progress which has been made in the communications with the interior.

From the large expenditure incurred on account of the Harrison-Lilloett road, and the zeal which was so early manifested in the Colony for its formation, Her Majesty's Government were led to suppose that a route would be opened for the miners, which would considerably abridge the distance in reaching the scene of their labours, and facilitate the transport of the means of subsistence. I now learn that this work is being faintly prosecuted by the Royal Engineers, under the command of Captain Grant; that funds to the extent of £30,000 are needed for its completion, besides, as you inform me, "the helping hand of Government on all sides". You throw out a suggestion that this pecuniary assistance could be raised easily by way of a loan, either in England or in Vancouver's Island, provided its payment were guaranteed by Parliament. I think it right to lose no time in disabusing you of the impression you allow yourself to entertain that the Imperial Parliament could be recommended to take the course you wish. Both Parliament and the English public

claim from British Columbia an energetic development of the great natural resources with which it is endowed.

The admonitions which have been so ably and so frequently proffered by my predecessor, that British Columbia should look to her exertions for success, must not pass unheeded, but a practical exemplification of that advice must be exhibited. Her Majesty's Government have applied to Parliament already for advances in aid of the Colony to an extent which shows that no reasonable demands have been refused when proved to exist; but this assistance must not be drawn into a precedent to be followed on all occasions, nor lead you, or the inhabitants of the Colony, to expect that the Country shall supply you with the means of developing those resources, which it is your duty to make the most of yourselves. I am explicit with you on this point, and wish you to understand that Her Majesty's Government, sharing completely the sentiments of the late Government in respect to British Columbia, cannot venture to ask Parliament for any such guarantee as you desire. (37)

One problem in this road building period was that of securing sufficient money to pay for both men and implements. In May, 1860, Grant wrote to Moody saying he could not go on with the Harrison-Lillooet road unless funds were sent to defray the past and meet the current expenses. He said:

. . . to enable the men to obtain the necessaries and expecting the payments to the forth-coming, I have advanced to them the whole of my private means and not a penny remains to me, either on private or public account. I am indeed most embarrassed and feel unable to carry out your

(37) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 105. (Newcastle to Douglas, October 9, 1860).

orders unless provided with Funds. (38)

Referring to the above in a letter to Douglas, Moody stated:

I have before endeavoured to impress upon you how much the discipline of the Corps depends on the regular (and precise, as to times) payment of it: this will I feel sure outweigh the importance of accidental or unavoidable informalities on mere points of detail, easily afterwards adjusted.

It will also be impracticable for me to carry out your individual instructions for the execution of services pressing in their nature unless some latitude be allowed me in any transactions with the Treasurer, by which I may readily obtain the means of such services. (39)

Although it was Moody's duty to improve communications in the new colony, by the middle of July, 1860, Douglas (40) had pretty well taken road-building into his own hands. This was realized by the people of New Westminster as is evident by the editorials in the 'British Columbian' during the latter months of 1861. These articles harshly criticize Douglas' road building policy and the treatment meted out to Moody by the Governor. One editorial said:

It is but right therefore that it should be known that our despotic Ruler has taken the Public Works Department, especially the road making portion of it, under his peculiar and immediate direction and control. No site has been

(38) Grant to Moody, May 12, 1860. (Moody Correspondence).

(39) Moody to Douglas, May 15, 1860. (Moody Correspondence).

(40) Moody Correspondence, F 485b. (Moody Correspondence).

fixed, no tender asked for or contract, without his order, knowledge and consent . . . Thus he has virtually ignored the existence of the Chief Commissioner of Works.

To illustrate the above statement the Hope-Similkameen Road is given as an example:

We have been informed, and we believe correctly that when the site for the road was to be fixed, the Governor visited Hope, called a council consisting of the Chief-Justice, a few Indians, and one or two Hudson Bay servants; and although the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works was in Hope at, the time, he was not invited to be present. Feeling, however, that the council related to a matter in his department, he attended unasked, and at the close protested the decision arrived at, and pointed to the route which has lately been explored and found so pre-eminently superior, as the one which should be fixed upon. But the opinion of a few Indians and interested Hudson Bay Company servants was of course taken in preference to that of Colonel Moody.

The result of all this was that the Similkameen road was pushed through at a large expense, and shortly afterwards was set aside for the one upon which Capt. Grant has been employed this season, and the prospect now is that both of these roads will be superseded by one direct to Kamloops, as suggested by the Chief Commissioner at first. Thus a very large amount of public money and more than two years have been fooled away without giving Hope one available road. (41)

Another editorial suggested that the Royal Engineers were not always used to advantage:

These Engineers with all their scientific skill and ample experience were employed as common

(41) British Columbian, October 31, 1861.

navvies in making roads which were blunderingly located by inexperienced and irresponsible men, entirely ignorant of the topography of the country. It is a notorious fact that when a road is to be located or a district explored, a magistrate, a constable, a Hudson Bay Company's servant, or peradventure an Indian, is sent out to explore and report upon the same, and after the route is decided upon, the Chief Commissioner with his staff of Royal Engineers is instructed to make the road. Thus the Engineers are brought into requisition simply to carry out the details, while the more important part of work, and that of all others which demand Engineering skill - the exploration of the country and locating of our main roads, is left to Tom, Dick or Harry, irresponsible and unknown.

But who is responsible for all this. Is it the Chief Commissioner? Or are we forced to the conclusion that the Governor, in this as in many other matters, is determined to make the Chief Commissioner and his staff of Engineers, in fact, mere empty ciphers? On this point truth compels us to admit that we believe there are abundant circumstances which point out the latter as the correct conclusion. (42)

Although the above excerpts possibly exaggerate conditions in the new colony there is sufficient evidence to prove that Colonel Moody was greatly hindered in his work by Douglas. Time has also proved that three main routes of communications into the interior as desired by Douglas were impracticable. Had Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody been able to work together for the good of the country as anticipated by Sir E. B. Lytton, at least much time and money would have been saved. (43)

(42) British Columbian, November 7, 1861.

(43) There is no evidence in the correspondence of the time that Colonel Moody did not co-operate with Governor Douglas. In fact one wonders how he carried out the Governor's instructions as well as he did.

Although there is much to condemn in Douglas' road-building policy there is also a great deal to place to his credit and justify his being called the 'Road King'. It is no doubt due to his zeal and energy that communications with the interior developed as speedily as they did. A great deal of the inefficiency of the contracting system may be excused because communications were slow, implements scarce and inadequate, and supervision over so vast an area spasmodic. The controversial disputes between Douglas, Moody, and the civilian contractors, the 'graft' and mistakes connected with road-building will not be discussed here.

The greatest problem facing Douglas was how to finance this gigantic scheme. From the first, Britain had decreed that British Columbia should pay its own way. This included the colonial pay of the Royal Engineers; the regimental pay was sent from England. There is evidence that Douglas did apply for two loans from the Mother Country but neither was forthcoming. It is interesting to note that the

(44) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 105. (Douglas to Newcastle, October 28, 1859).
 Cf. ibid., (immediately before Part I) Itemized expenses for colony of British Columbia in 1858 and estimates for 1859. Here Douglas states - ". . . I am in hopes of being able after the first year to pay all our own expenses". Thence the attitude of the Colonial Office.
 Cf. Appendix V.

(45) B. C. Despatches - Douglas to Downing Street, October 21, 1863.

Secretary of State is quoted as saying:

Never has a young Colony cost so little as British Columbia. (46)

At the outset the Governor insisted on a policy of 'pay as you go' for the young colony. Thus, while Victoria remained the port of entry and a free port, a succession of customs duties, head taxes, licenses, mule taxes, and road and bridge tolls - both private and governmental - increased from year to year in British Columbia to pay for the new roads. The first 'Toll Ordinance' was issued in October, 1860, and from then on the toll system existed until the finances of the country could (47) permit its withdrawal.

In 1861 Douglas established the 'Gold Escort' whose business it was to convey gold dust - collected by the miners - to Victoria. As the Government refused to assume any liability for the loss of the gold, the 'escort' was doomed to failure. The original escort made only three trips, while the 'reformed' escort (1866) made four trips. The escort itself consisted of 12 well-mounted uniformed men, with a guard of four picked men and one non-commissioned officer from the

(46) British Columbian, September 16, 1863.

(47) Interesting accounts and amount of these tolls are given in Scholefield, The Yale Cariboo Wagon Road, The British Columbia Magazine, February, 1911. Fitcher, W., The Great North Road, Vancouver, 1938. Cf. Appendix III.

(48)

Royal Engineers.

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- (48) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, July 11, 1861, PP. 276-277.
Cf. Fitcher, W., The Great North Road, P. 43.
Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., II, P. 135.
Cf. Begg, op. cit., P. 277.

Chapter 11

Land Policy.

In his official capacity as Commissioner of Lands and Works Colonel Moody was responsible for the locating, surveying, laying out and selling of town lots and for the survey and sale of country land. He was also responsible for defining the boundaries of Hudson's Bay Company's lands and Indian reserves and for laying apart certain grants for church purposes.

The surveying and laying out of New Westminster has been discussed in a previous chapter. Three other towns were important - those located on the sites of Fort Hope, Fort Yale and Port Douglas. In general the land was surveyed, town laid out and lots offered for sale by means of a public auction. The upset price of these lots was 100 dollars - 10% to be deposited at the time of the sale and the remainder within one month. In both Hope and Yale certain lots were set aside for the appropriation of the Wesleyan Missions, and churches and

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- (1) Many other townsites were selected. (See Moody's Memo Book I). Most of these towns did not develop as they are not located on any maps.
- (2) Douglas, Private Official Letter Book, ED 101.10. (Douglas to Moody, September 20, 1859). Cf. Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 168. (Moody to Lemprière, February 6, 1860). Lemprière was ordered to lay out additional lots for sale at Fort Hope.

(3)
 schools were built. On December 24, 1858, Douglas reported a
 town site laid out at Port Douglas and about 70 lots occupied. (4)
 In 1860 the Royal Engineers surveyed the sites of Lillooet and
 Lytton, and in 1863 suburban lots adjacent to the city of New
 Westminster were laid out. Frequent mention is made of the
 laying out of other small towns and the building of churches,
 schools, and government buildings, by the Royal Engineers. (5)

It was Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's intention that all
 the surveying of British Columbia should be done by Colonel
 Moody and his men, and that revenues derived from these sales
 be applied to survey and other Colonial expenses. (6) (7)

Governor Douglas issued his first Proclamation concerning the sale of these lands on February 14, 1859. Lands offered for sale were listed under the following classes -

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- (3) Lands and Works Department, Letter Book I, PP. 66-71.
 - (4) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 46. (Douglas to Lytton, December 24, 1858).
 - (5) Lands and Works Department, Letter Books (Provincial Archives) gives the correspondence relating to the surveying and laying out of these small towns.
 - (6) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 71. (Lytton to Douglas, October 16, 1858). This was found impossible. Moberly, Dewdney, J. W. Trutch, John Trutch and J. J. Cockrane were sworn in as surveyors on February 23, 1861. (Lands and Works, Letter Book II, P. 137). However the Royal Engineers did do practically all the public or official surveys.
 - (7) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 75. (Lytton to Douglas, December 30, 1859).

(1) town lands (2) general country lands (3) lands for special settlement. All mineral lands were reserved and no land was offered for sale without having been surveyed. Town lots were to be sold at auction - upset price to be fixed later; country lots were to be sold at public auction at an upset price of 10 s. per acre. (8) This land policy proved a real barrier to the settler as lands could not be bought at any price until first surveyed and put up for auction. The price also was prohibitive to the average pioneer. It was only after several petitions had been sent to the governor that he proclaimed a second land scheme on January 4, 1860. Settlers, by this proclamation, could acquire unoccupied, unreserved, and unsurveyed Crown lands (not exceeding 160 acres) for a registration fee of 8d. When the land was surveyed the claimant could purchase the land at a price to be fixed by the government but not exceeding 10s. per acre. (9) Commenting on this MacDonald says:

This Proclamation whilst purporting to hasten the settlement and improvement of the country encouraged speculators to buy up large tracts of the best land to the exclusion of men who would be of

(8) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 64. (Douglas to Lytton, February 19, 1859). On Vancouver Island, in 1849-1850, lots sold at £1 per acre.

(9) British Columbia List of Proclamations 1858-1864. (January 4, 1860). Cf. MacDonald, op. cit., PP. 205-209.

real benefit to the country.

The 'Correspondent' from Victoria, commenting in the London, 'Times', on the land policy in British Columbia said that 10 shillings was really too much to ask for the land.

. . . Most who want to settle are poor men whose means will be exhausted in the expense of transport, the cost of implements of husbandry, of farm-stock, and of buildings and who after these charges, or even some of them, are defrayed, cannot afford to pay 10s. an acre for their land. And these are the very classes most needed in a new country whose capital is their labour. (10)

A letter by 'Justice' appearing in the 'British Columbian', May 30, 1861, stated:

It would appear there is something materially wrong in our land system, more especially as regards the application of Scrip. As the case cited is of importance to all interested in the welfare of the colony, it would be well to know whether the blame rests with those who framed the conditions embodied in the Land Bill and Scrip, or with Col. Moody, whose duty it is to carry them out. It may appear to many that the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works is alone to blame in the matter; but perhaps the public is not aware that the Chief Commissioner had nothing whatever to do with the framing of the Land Bill, Scrip or Certificate of Title - consequently . . . he cannot be held responsible for the rotten foundation upon which they

(10) The Times, London, March 15, 1860. (From Victoria Correspondent). Donald Fraser was the British Correspondent to the London 'Times' at that time.

are based. (11)

An editorial in the same paper dated August 2, 1861, said:

His Excellency was pleased, when last here, to intimate his intention of codifying our present land system, which consists of a number of proclamations, conflicting, ambiguous, and unintelligible to the ordinary settler, and but too well calculated to lead to misunderstanding and end in litigation. (12)

Again:

Our land policy which has certainly undergone a decided improvement within the last year, and is, in the abstract, far from a bad one, is still by no means as liberal as that of some of the other colonies. The "free grant" system in operation elsewhere, should, with as little delay as possible, be introduced here.

. . . The idea of raising a revenue from the sale of Crown Lands is a relic of the dark ages. (13)

A third Proclamation was issued in 1861 but this showed little improvement over the previous ones.

The Duke of Newcastle realizing that the distribution of land in a new colony was a problem, sent Captain Clarke's scheme for the disposal of land to Douglas - with the

(11) British Columbian, May 30, 1861. A note by the editor at foot of letter says - ". . . we are governed by one man, who is a despot, and does not delegate any of his power to his subordinates. In fact we believe our Chief Commissioner and other officials have less discretionary power than a merchant's clerk.

(12) ibid., August 29, 1861.

(13) ibid., January 2, 1862. (Editorial)

suggestion that it might be of use in British Columbia. Captain Clarke, R.E., had been surveyor-general in Australia and
(14)
knew colonial problems.

In 1860, at the request of Douglas, Moody worked out a land scheme for British Columbia. In the introduction he pointed out that to secure settlers for the actual occupation and cultivation of rural lands there must be several attractions - (1) power of selection (2) easy and prompt acquirement (3) smallest possible cost to settler (4) powers of local taxation for formation of communication and (5) 'an assurance, publically announced in the 'Act' itself that whatsoever money be derived by Government for sale of lands (deducting cost of survey) shall be strictly applied to the importation of labour'. After pointing out the possibilities and risk of bringing in settlers, Moody set forth three very detailed 'modes' by which unsurveyed and unreserved rural lands in British Columbia might be obtained under certain conditions of
(15)
pre-emption. This report was sent to Douglas on November 7, 1860, with the request that a copy be sent to the Secretary of

(14) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, PP. 106-108. (Clarke's land scheme printed). Enclosure in despatch from Newcastle to Douglas, January 7, 1860.

(15) Moody Correspondence. (Provincial Archives). This very detailed report consists of 34 closely written pages.

(16) State. Douglas made little use, if any, of either Clarke's or Moody's report.

The result of Douglas' land scheme was few settlers and wide speculation. A 'miscellaneous collection' in the Provincial Archives contains a booklet, written in the handwriting of Captain H. R. Luard to the Colonial Secretary, Victoria, B. C., which contains a list of purchasers of land in (17) B. C. Such names as John Robson, Robert Burnaby, John S. Helmcken, John A. Grant, William D. Gosset, W. A. C. Young, John Murray and Richard Moody appear frequently. Douglas' name does not appear but there is a large grant to the Hudson's Bay Company in September, 1862.

The first intimation of this 'land grabbing' activity appeared in the 'British Colonist' on October 4, 1860. The notice stated that Colonel Moody had stuck a paper on a tree dated "Red Earth Fork, Sept. 19th", to inform public that he had pre-empted 200 acres of land west and north of said 'Fork'.

(16) Moody frequently requested that his copies of reports be sent to the Secretary of State. The Colonial Office on the other hand complained about not having reports from Moody. I do not understand this for the only means of communication was through the Governor.

(17) As the number of acres and price per acre are seldom filled in and the location not given it is impossible to estimate amount of land owned by each purchaser. (This paper records the list of purchasers of land in British Columbia with the number of the title deed, the number and cost of each acre, the surveyor, date of surveys, and whether sold by private or public auction.)

From then on frequent references were made to it. A letter signed 'X. Y. Z.' appeared in the 'British Columbian' on February 13, 1861, asking if the rumor were true that the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, the Chief Justice, and several other Government Officials, had formed themselves into a 'Joint Stock Company' with a large capital, for the purpose of buying up the public lands. The following week a letter signed 'A Farmer', and titled 'The Rumor' continued the discussion.
(18)

. . . How many, and who compose this Company, I will not pretend to say; but the Chief Commissioner is certainly the chief agent, and from the favourable position in which his office places him, he is a host in himself.

Through the reports of his Engineers and other persons, he is likely to find out where the best lands are situated, and from the amplitude of his purse, and his perfect knowledge of the ambiguity and weaknesses of our land system, no one is so competent as himself to secure the good land when he finds its locations; and from facts which have come to my knowledge recently; it would really seem that he intends to use all the advantages which his office and situation afford him for his own special emolument, and not for the general good.

By pre-empting in the most wholesale manner, by applying scrip, and in other, but more objectionable ways, he has now, or pretends he has some kind of claim to several thousand acres of the best rural land in the vicinity of New Westminster, and I am informed, and know that he claims extensive

(18) British Columbian, February 21, 1861. (Correspondence).
Cf. Appendix IX, for list of land owned by Moody in 1873.

tracts of land in other parts of the Colony, and still he seems to be as rapacious for more as though he had not a single acre.

It has been suggested to me by a friend of the Colonel's, that he, the Col., is acting in the matter, with the purest of motives - that he tried hard to get our land system so worked as to keep out speculation and secure the good land for the actual settler, that having failed to do so, he is now determined to get as much of the Crown lands as possible under his individual control in order to keep it from the grasp of selfish land-sharks; and that as soon as the actual settler arrives he will release his grasp and allow those who will settle and improve, to purchase from him at a very small advance on the original cost, thus rendering himself exceeding popular, and prove a lasting benefit to the Colony.

'A Farmer' continues by saying he hopes this latter defence is true but is doubtful and continues with these words:

Why is the Col. trying by cajolery and threats to buy out the actual settler as well as the absentee. If he is allowed to do this, his name will become a by-word and a reproach; his presence amongst us, if he persists in such a ruinous course, will prove a permanent curse to the colony. Far better had he remained in Vancouver or some place further away.

Another intimation of this 'land grabbing' appears in a notice advertising the land adjacent to a road to be built immediately through the Pitt River Meadows. It says:

As this road will intersect a large tract of some 20,000 acres of excellent agricultural land, we would advise farmers to take a look at it before it falls into the rapacious maw of our "land-sharks". (19)

On March 14, 1861, the 'Colonist' again joined the 'British Columbian' on attacking this 'Land Grabbing' policy. It stated that Colonel Moody had pre-empted over 15,000 acres of land in various portions of the colony although he was only entitled to 1000 acres at one dollar per acre. Finally an editorial appeared in the British Columbian on August 29, 1861, stating that Colonel Moody would sell any or all of his rural land to any active settler. This was followed by an editorial, one paragraph of which said:

. . . we are now happy to state, on authority, that the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, who was generally believed to be somewhat tainted with this fever, will sell to any actual settler all, or any parcel, of rural land taken by him, at what it actually cost, thus giving such settler the benefit of all the advantages supposed to be possessed by the Chief Commissioner by virtue of his official position etc. (22)

It looks, by this editorial, as if Colonel Moody was at last realizing that the people of British Columbia were not blind to the fact that he was acquiring larger tracts of land than were his due. After the above editorial appeared all correspondence on 'land grabbing' ceased. It is really amazing that the discussion ran as long as it did as John Robson, the

(20) The Colonist, March 14, 1861.

(21) British Columbian, August 29, 1861.

(22) ibid., August 29, 1861. (Editorial)

editor of the 'British Columbian', was a close friend of Colonel Moody and used his paper continually in his defence. (23)
 Statistic show that Robson was no little 'shark' himself.

By the fall of 1859 the Royal Engineers were far behind in their colonial pay - the expenditures of the colony were far greater than the revenues. The Royal Engineers proposed (and gained the consent of the governor) that they be allowed to purchase land with the certificate they were receiving of 'pay due'. (24) However, this apparently was not satisfactory. Many complaints were forthcoming and much discontent was felt about the large reserves being made which could neither be pre-empted or purchased. On April 16, 1860, Douglas wrote to Moody informing him that the government could no longer sanction the system of paying for public works with land instead of money, as it depreciated the value of land. In one (25) case, he stated, land was estimated at 90 cents per acre.

Moody, himself, purchased a suburban allotment which

(23) Miscellaneous Collection, Provincial Archives. Folder by H. R. Luard. It is impossible to justify Moody's acquirement of such large tracts of land. One may suggest that he was not alone in his crime.

(24) Douglas to Moody, F 485. (Douglas Correspondence, October 5, 1859).

(25) ibid., F 485b, April 16, 1860.

(26)

he later developed into his model farm, Mayfield. In a private letter to Douglas, asking permission to purchase this land,

Moody said:

I should feel therefore greatly obliged by your Excellency's sanction for me to obtain at once at the upset price a suburban allotment.

The spot I have selected is away from the site of commercial value on the River shore & yet conveniently near to my duties in the town and close to the Barracks where I shall have to reside.

It is about a mile and a half from the town with the public park between. The land is not at present of good quality but it would be an amusement to make it so & the site is elevated with an agreeable aspect. The quantity of land is about 5 or 6 acres. (27)

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- (26) This farm situated on the North Road between New Westminster and Burrard Inlet is frequently referred to because it was a model farm. The Colonist (March 23, 1861) said the farm contained 200 or 300 acres. Moody referred to 'Mayfield' in his letter to H. P. P. Crease, September 9, 1870. (Crease Correspondence, Provincial Archives).
- (27) Lands and Works, Letter Book I, P. 34. (Moody to Douglas, April 8, 1859). This letter signed 'R. C. M.' is a marked contrast to the more formal official correspondence. It seems that up to this date, at least, Moody considered Douglas a personal friend as well as a superior officer. Miss Wolfenden says that Moody also purchased land and built a summer home at Port Moody (named after Colonel Moody) but I can find no reference to this. Cf. Appendix IX. The photostat in this appendix is a record of land owned by Moody in 1873. It is contained in a letter written by Moody to H. P. P. Crease, Attorney-General of British Columbia on December 22, 1873. R. L. Reid, K.C., Vancouver, B. C., says the New Westminster City Council, in 1900, sued Moody's son-in-law, John Ross Foord, of Kent, England for non-payment of taxes. This property was holding up the sale of land - especially around Burnaby Lake. The Council finally sold the land at auction. Some of it brought \$25 for 160 acres. Mr. Reid says Moody also owned land on Lulu Island.

The surveying and laying out of the land between the Fraser River and the frontier and around New Westminster was an important part of the work of the Royal Engineers. On May 8, 1859, Douglas wrote to Lytton advising him that 'the extensive plains on the Pitt, Smess and Chilwhayook rivers were to be hurriedly surveyed and thrown into 80 acre sections for immediate occupation for the purpose of raising food and retaining a permanent population in the country'. On May 12, 1859, Moody ordered Parsons to have the open lands on the Pitt River surveyed for rural allotments of 40 acres each. However in writing to Douglas on May 14, 1859, Moody assured him that he was very much opposed to settling land between the Fraser and the 'Frontier' until there was some prospect of an extensive British settlement. He did suggest, on the other hand, that this land be settled by British subjects on 'feudal terms' for 21 years - to be occupied by naval and military and by civilians who had served the Crown and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who would serve as a military guard if the occasion arose. Realizing that Douglas still hoped to make a commercial

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- (28) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 10. (Douglas to Lytton, May 8, 1859). These refer to the Sumas and Chilliwack Rivers.
- (29) Lands and Works, Letter Book I, P. 87. (Moody to Parsons, May 12, 1859).
Cf. Royal Engineers Letter Book 2, P. 26.
- (30) Lands and Works, Letter Book I, P. 89-90. (Moody to Douglas, May 14, 1859).

town of Langley, Moody added:

Your Excellency is already aware of my opinion that Langley is inferior in every respect to Queensborough as the Site for a Commercial city and for intended communications to the interior by railways and other modes. (31)

At the time of the arrival of the Royal Engineers Burrard Inlet was 'a veritable lumberman's paradise'. The land on both sides of the inlet - extending from the First Narrows to Port Moody - was covered with a forest of the finest fir and cedar in the colony. (32) The first access to Burrard Inlet was a trail about 6 miles long built by the Royal Engineers in 1859. Two parties worked on the trail - one at £70 per mile, the other at £60. (33) It was built for merely military purposes to

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- (31) Lands and Works, Letter Book I, PP. 89-90. (Moody to Douglas, May 14, 1859). Moody asks his opinion to be sent to the Colonial Office. This is really the second time that Moody, viewing the proposition from a military point of view, overrules Douglas. Of course it was Douglas' privilege to assert his authority if he cared to, but I think he realized that Lytton supported Moody in military affairs.
- (32) First steps to utilize this timber were taken in winter of 1862 by T. W. Graham and Company, contractors and builders of New Westminster, who pre-empted 480 acres of timber at 'Moodyville' - now a part of North Vancouver. The first cargo was shipped to New Westminster in August 1863. Howay, Early Shipping in Burrard Inlet, The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, January, 1937.
- (33) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, PP. 108-110. (Moody to Grant, September 30, 1859 - The 'North Road' of today). Cf. Supra, P. 127.

provide the Royal Engineers with an outlet on the north side of their camp and to afford a second means of approach to the capital. Speaking of this type of trail - and of this one in particular - Admiral Baynes, of H. M. S. 'Plumper' said, 'These trails are rough walking with stumps and inequalities liable to trip one up every minute so that it is necessary to look at your steps.' (34) The 'British Columbian' reported that 'this road passes through a beautiful agricultural district and leads to the farms of Mr. Holms and Colonel Moody, R.E.' (35) This was later developed into a military road.

The second trail led to English Bay. It was 13 miles in length, extending from Douglas Street (Eighth Street), New Westminster, for a mile and a half, then to the left to the head of False Creek, and thence along the southern shore of English Bay to the vicinity of the naval reserve. (36) This trail was a necessity from a military point of view as it afforded a means of a contact with the men-of-war that found the extra trip to Port Moody tedious. Moody was requested by Douglas to

(34) Howay, F. W., Early Shipping on Burrard Inlet, 1863-1870. The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, P. 102, January, 1937.

(35) British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

(36) Howay, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet. The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, April, 1937. (This is Jericho Beach of today.)

obtain permission from the Secretary of State to build this road. Apparently the request was granted as the trail had reached False Creek by October 1860, when the construction of it stopped. However it was resumed in February 1861 and completed in the autumn of the same year. (37)

The third trail was a result of the Pre-emption Proclamation of January 4, 1860. When practically all the land along the trail to Burrard Inlet (North Road) had been spoken for, attention was directed to the fine farming land in the locality of Burnaby Lake. As soon as this land was 'pre-empted', a road was needed to connect it with New Westminster. Moody, was especially interested in some means of communication with this area as he himself had secured large tracts of land. The construction of a trail was let to 'Sparrow and McDonald'. Like the trail to English Bay it was an extension of Douglas Road. By December, 1861, this trail, the present 'Douglas Road', had reached Burnaby Lake. The contract had called for a four and one-half mile trail at £79 per mile. However only three and one-half miles were completed at the cost of £373 (38) 12s. 4d. Thus by the end of December 1861, there were three

(37) Howay, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, P. 102, April, 1937. Douglas evidently thought Moody intended this district for settlement. It would be interesting to know how much Douglas knew at this time of Moody's land-grabbing activity.

(38) ibid., pp. 102-103.

lines of communication in the peninsula - the 'North Road' to Burrard Inlet, the military trail to 'Jericho' and the 'Douglas Road' to Burnaby Lake.

In reference to the Burnaby Lake district, Moody wrote to Douglas on September 18, 1862, stating that owners of country land around Burnaby Lake had applied asking permission to lower the 'Outlet' and to be allowed to purchase and obtain from the government, at the upset price of 4s. 2d. per acre, the land they could reclaim (now under water), contiguous to the land they owned. Apparently this was done as Douglas considered it advantageous for the country. (39)

The reservation of land for military and naval purposes was considered of prime importance by Colonel Moody. Early in January, 1860, the whole of the opposite side of the Fraser River, extending from two miles above the junction of the Pitt and Fraser Rivers to six miles below New Westminster, and all across to the 'Frontier', was reserved for 'military considerations'. (40) The land reserved on Burrard Inlet included: (1) naval reserves of 110 acres and 788 acres at 'Jericho' and Point Grey (upon a part of which the University of British

(39) Moody to Douglas, F 1156, September 18, 1862. (Provincial Archives).

(40) ~~Royal Engineers Letter Book 3~~, P. 158, January 20, 1860.

Columbia now stands) (2) a military reserve of 354 acres on the south side of First Narrows (Stanley Park) (3) a military reserve of about 950 acres on the north shore (immediately opposite Stanley Park) (4) a naval reserve of 155 acres near 'the place known as Granville' (5) a naval reserve of 110 acres near Port Moody and (6) two military reserves, 190 acres and 127 acres, respectively, on the north and south sides of the entrance to Port Moody. The above summary is given by Judge Howay who adds, 'it must be admitted that every point of vantage had been reserved to protect the embryo state'. A government reserve for a town (later known as Hastings Townsite) was created in 1860 or 1861. On January 20, 1860, two pre-emption claims of 150 acres each - 25 chains frontage in the Harbour by 60 chains deep - were made by Robert Burnaby and H. P. P. Crease. These claims, adjoining, were on the east side of the naval reserve at the 'Coal' site. In February and March, 1863,

(41) Noway, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, P. 101. Public notices of these reservations appear in Moody's Memo Book I.

(1) September 24, 1862. Reserved for the present - On the south side of Burrard Inlet from Second Narrows - three miles westward and 1 mile backwards from water.

(2) December 23, 1862. Land reserved - 'portion of land commencing at the mouth of the North Arm of Fraser River and extending around Point Grey as far as the Naval Reserve in English Bay, Burrard, Burrard Inlet, to a distance inland of one mile from the shore line, has been reserved for the present'.

(42) ibid., P. 103.

(43) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 156, January 20, 1860.

a party of Royal Engineers, under Lance-Corporal George Turner, R.E., made a complete survey of the shore-line from 'Hastings Townsite' reserve to False Creek. Starting at the townsite reserve he surveyed the south shore of Burrard Inlet, laying out, in succession, lots 184, 183, 182 and 181, a townsite reserve (which included the original naval reserve in that locality), and lot 185, which brought him to the military reserve at First Narrows (now Stanley Park). Lot 185 became the property of Hailstone, Morton and Brighthouse, the first inhabitants of Vancouver; Lot 184 was granted in January, 1864, to John Graham, a clerk in the Government Treasury office; Lot 183 was granted to Thomas Ranaldson who later conveyed it to H. P. P. Crease; Lot 182 was granted to H. P. P. Crease, and Lot 181 was granted to Robert Burnaby in October, 1863. (44)

Apparently Moody's 'land-grabbing' activities did not extend past Burnaby Lake. However, it is interesting to note that to Colonel Moody is due the credit of setting apart as a military reserve the land now known as 'Stanley Park'. (45)

In April, 1863, while the Royal Engineers were surveying the suburban lots adjoining the City of New Westminster,

(44) Howay, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, P. 104.

(45) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 9.

the Municipal Council honoured Colonel Moody with the following resolution:

Moved by Mr. A. H. Manson, seconded by Mr. John Cooper and resolved: That, in consequence of the judicious selection of the townsite of New Westminster for the capital of British Columbia by Colonel Moody, R. E., this Council considers it desirable that a space of not less than twenty acres should be reserved in the suburbs not being surveyed to be called 'Moody Square' in commemoration of the founder of the city; and that the Clerk be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works with a request that the same may be acted upon. (46)

(46) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 9. This was a fitting tribute to Colonel Moody.

Chapter 12

Further Duties of the Royal Engineers.

This chapter is miscellaneous in character. It discusses the relationship between Captain W. Driscoll, Gosset, Colonial Treasurer, and the Royal Engineers; Moody's opinion of further immigration into the Colony; his attitude towards the Hudson's Bay Company, and several miscellaneous activities not previously mentioned.

The work of Captain W. Driscoll, Gosset, R. E., - not directly connected with Colonel Moody's detachment, but working at the same period in New Westminster, and often in conjunction with Colonel Moody - is important. Captain Gosset, appointed by Sir E. B. Lytton, had come out to British Columbia with Colonel Moody in 1859 to act as Colonial Treasurer for the mainland. He is described as an impulsive, independent, young man, proud of his own ability, and zealous of his own interest. Like Colonel Moody, he was often at loggerheads with Governor Douglas but did not have Moody's power of self-restraint. That Colonel Moody and Captain Gosset were intimate friends probably made their relationship with the Governor more tense.

Captain Gosset was intensely interested in the new colony and devoted his skill and energy to its advancement. On April 25, 1859 he wrote;

Commissioned by the Secretary of State for

Her Majesty's colonies to undertake the task of organizing a mint (of which an Assay Office forms a part) should the necessity arise for such an establishment in the colony. . . that the time has now arrived for introducing a portion of such an establishment there I have likewise premised and now recommend immediate action. (1)

The officials in the colony of British Columbia considered the Government Assay Office an important institution and worthy of a fitting building. Thus Colonel Moody prepared what he considered suitable plans and estimates were given at £3,400. However, Douglas refused to consider this proposition, estimating that £400 was sufficient. (2) The Government Assay Office - as desired by Douglas - was opened in New Westminster on August 1, 1860. Although this department did not pay for its own maintenance, (3) it was successful in handling the gold so far as the miners were concerned, and the public was fully aware of its direct value to the colony. The 'British Columbian' stated:

Miners and others bear open testimony to the integrity of the processes employed; and they declare that by bringing their dust to the Government Assay Office here they realized two, three, and as much as four percent more than if they had taken it to private Assay offices elsewhere. It

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- (1) B. C. Papers, Pt. III, P. 13, April 25, 1859. (Enclosure).
Cf. British Columbian, May 17, 1862.
Cf. Reid, R. L., Assay Office and Proposed Mint, P. 31.
- (2) Reid, R. L., Assay Office and Proposed Mint at New Westminster, Victoria, 1926, P. 22.
- (3) ibid., P. 26.

is not too much to assert further that the accuracy and fidelity of the Government Assay Office have been advantageous to those who did not avail themselves of its service; the result of assays having had the effect of making private parties more careful in their dealings . . . Suppose . . . that the Government Assay Office has acted as a check upon private melters and assayers elsewhere to the tune of one percent upon our Colony's yield, taken at six million dollars last year, this important and interested classes in the Colony, the miners and merchants. (4)

The output of gold was so satisfactory in 1861 that, in November, Captain Gosset was called upon by Governor Douglas to obtain some second-hand machinery for a mint which was obtainable in San Francisco for a few thousand dollars. Although Gosset would have preferred to wait longer in order to procure perfect and more economical machinery from England, his opinion was overruled and the machinery from San Francisco was landed in New Westminster in March, 1862. (5) Moody at once placed non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Engineers at Gosset's disposal to aid in the erection of machinery. (6) However, almost immediately orders were received from 'Czar' Douglas (7) 'to grease it and lay it by'. When Gosset realized that the

(4) British Columbian, May 17, 1862. (Editorial).

(5) ibid., May 17, 1862.

(6) ibid., April 3, 1862.

(7) ibid., April 10, 1862.

funds necessary to complete the arrangements were refused by Douglas - rather than see all progress stopped - he went on with the principal engineering operations at his own expense. The 'British Columbian' was eager to have the mint started and supported Gosset in his determination. On May 31, 1862 an editorial stated:

Capt. Gosset, the Deputy Master of Mint, has certainly displayed the most praiseworthy zeal in the erection of the plant so far; and it is gratifying to learn that the mint will be ready for work in a few days. But the question, is, will it be put in operation when it is ready? We regret to know that His Excellency the Governor has seriously hampered Capt. Gosset in the way of funds; and even now the small amount necessary to construct the requisite buildings is not forthcoming. The work has all been done by two or three Royal Engineers kindly furnished by Colonel Moody, and under numerous disadvantages, and in spite of diverse obstacles - one would be tempted to say designedly thrown in the way - the indomitable energy and firm determination of the Deputy Master have triumphed, or will at least in a few days. (8)

In spite of definite orders from Douglas that no coins were to be struck, Gosset did strike off some specimen copies, some of which were sent to Douglas, some exhibited to visitors, and others displayed at the Imperial Exhibition in London. A few residents of New Westminster were successful in obtaining specimens of coins made from gold supplied by themselves. In all, Gosset coined 18 ten-dollar pieces and 20

(8) British Columbian, May 31, 1862. (Editorial).

(9)
 twenty-dollar pieces valued at £76. At the famous Murdock sale in London, in 1903, one of the \$20 pieces sold for £116, and in 1911 at Sotheby's Gosset's own \$20 piece sold for £210.⁽¹⁰⁾

As early as January, 1862, Gosset was asking for a year's leave of absence on account of ill health. Whether he was physically ill or nervously upset by the brusque reprimands and constant friction between Douglas and himself is difficult to say. In writing to the colonial secretary he said "I have 'no thought' beyond the one, of every hour I delay here, to get away from an anxious post I've stayed at too long."⁽¹¹⁾ Douglas' confidential report on Gosset was as follows:

My experience of Captain Gosset has not been happy. Except as a mere Treasury Clerk, he has been of no use to me. As a financial officer he was valueless. I have invariably found him defective in judgement. His temper is capricious, and I cannot recall a single instance of any useful suggestion made by him. I could never rely on his cordial co-operation in combined measures, and I am moreover persuaded that he encouraged disaffection and wilfully misrepresented my government, through the public Press, both in this Country and abroad. In short, I believe him to be politically faithless and unprincipled.

(9) Reid, R. L., op. cit., P. 68. Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda - says only five twenty-dollar and ten ten-dollar pieces were coined.

(10) ibid., P. 85. Further information regarding these coins is to be found in Reid, op. cit., PP. 85-88.

(11) ibid., P. 70.

Age about 40. Health and constitution feeble. (12)

The people of New Westminster, among whom he dwelt, appreciated his worth and services to the colony. When he finally left for England an editorial on his departure paid high tribute to his work.

. . . he has been emphatically one of us - a true British Columbian in every sense. On all occasions and under all circumstances, identifying himself with the place and its wants and interests, he stands, in official circles, in connection with the rise and progress of this City, second only to Colonel Moody, who must ever stand peerless - emphatically the father and founder of New Westminster - as well as the uncompromising friend of the Colony and the people. (13)

Although it is difficult to justify Gosset's actions as a subordinate to Douglas, it is also difficult to defend Douglas' attitude toward Gosset. Gosset was sent out to British Columbia by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton for a definite purpose. Due to the jealousy between the two cities and the training and the natural antipathy of the two men, Gosset could make no headway. Because of his subordinate position and high-strung temperament he broke down. The treatment meted out by Governor Douglas to Colonel Moody was practically the same as that given to Captain Gosset. However Moody reacted in a different way, as will be seen in a later chapter.

(12) Confidential Report on Public Servants (Provincial Archives). No date given - probably 1863.
Cf. Reid, R. L., op. cit., P. 96.

(13) British Columbian, August 30, 1862.

Although Colonel Moody could always find work for any one actually in need of it, he carefully abstained from encouraging immigration into the new land. In writing to George P. Birkinshaw, Virginia, W. S. he stated:

The advise given you by the Vicar of Newcastle was evidently forwarded on a more hopeful aspect of affairs than exists here at the present moment, and from experience I make it a rule to refrain from taking on myself the responsibility of recommending any one so serious a step as Emigration.

The successful persons at the commencement of a Colony are the "bona fide" laboring men - the Hedgers & Ditchers of Old England & (sic) the Woodsmen of Canada.

With Gentlemen, the uphill Work & the anxieties prove to be in 99 cases out of a 100 infinitely beyond their anticipation. (14)

In writing to G. W. Yeats, who claimed that hopes had been held out to him of receiving public employment if he could find his way out to the colony, Robert Burnaby said:

I am to state that you are under a misapprehension, Col. Moody having carefully abstained from holding out hopes of such a character to any person whatsoever. (15)

The relationship between Colonel Moody and the Hudson's Bay Company was important. Moody seldom came into contact with the Company but when he did he found the men amicable, hospitable and willing to render every assistance.

(14) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 143. (Moody to Birkinshaw, December 20, 1859).

(15) Lands and Works, Letter Book I, (Burnaby to Yeats, July 9, 1859).

Douglas fostered this friendship and desired Moody to comment on it as is evident in a letter written by Moody to Douglas, on February 17, 1859. It stated:

I have already made it known, again and again, to your Excellency the prompt attention and valuable assistance the Royal Engineers Department has received from the Hudson's Bay Company from first to last since their arrival. (16)

F. W. Laing, in his essay 'Hudson's Bay Company Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia', pointed out that Sir E. B. Lytton called upon Colonel Moody, Commissioner of Lands and Works, to define the limits of the 'Company's' claims in British Columbia. When Douglas enclosed the report on May 31, 1859, he pointed out that Moody was in favour of recognizing the general principles of the 'Company's' claims, with a suggestion that the lands claimed at Langley and Fort Hope should be curtailed in extent and an equivalent given at other places on Fraser River. When the whole question was referred finally to the Government Emigration Board, the total number of acres applied for by the Hudson's Bay Company was reduced from 98,225 acres to 2,247 acres. It almost seems that Moody was overly careful not to oppose Douglas in his pet interest,

(16) Royal Engineers Letter Book 2, P. 23. (Moody to Douglas, February 17, 1859).

(17)

the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Royal Engineers have many other works to their credit in British Columbia: they established the Lands and Works Department and the Government Printing Office in the city of New Westminster; on January 1, 1863, they printed the first British Columbia "Gazette", they also designed the first coat-of-arms for British Columbia, and they surveyed and laid out the site for the city of New Westminster, and also for the towns of Hope, Yale, Douglas, Lillooet, Clinton and others. All the maps of the colony were made from their surveys, prepared in their drafting office, lithographed and published at their camp; several astronomical stations were established, and careful and detailed 'meteorological observations' were kept by them and are preserved in the Provincial Archives. The exact position of their camp 49 deg. 12 min. 47 sec. North Latitude, and 122 deg. 52 min. 19 sec. West Longitude was

(17) Laing, Hudson's Bay Company Lands on the Mainland of British Columbia 1858-1861, The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, April 1939, pp. 75-99. This is a very interesting article. Moody's report is not available.

(18) British Colonist, March 1, 1860.
There were three printers in the corps.

(19) Wolfenden, Addenda.
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers.
The Royal Engineers Press also printed books - See bibliography (Brown, Palmer).

(20) Moody to Douglas, F 1157, January 20, 1863. (Moody Correspondence). Cf. Appendix IV.

located by them. The greatest work performed by them - the building of roads and bridges, their explorations, surveys and land policies have already been discussed.

It was predicted in the 'Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette', February 26, 1859, that a transcontinental railway would be constructed from Halifax to the mouth of the Fraser River. Colonel Moody was of the opinion that this railway would naturally reach Port Moody, circle around the back of New Westminister and finally reach English Bay. (21) The first account of the 'Inter-Colonial Railway' appeared in the 'British Columbian' on August 13, 1862.

(21) Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette, Addenda.

Chapter 13

Moody and Douglas.

A discussion of the work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia would not be complete without reference being made to the relationship which existed between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody - a relationship which coloured and influenced practically the whole work of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia. The life and former work of Colonel Moody has been given. Suffice is to say that he was chosen for his admirable character and the splendid work done by him in his previous posts.

James Douglas had been in the employ of the great fur-trading companies in North America from his boyhood. He was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in 1803 - the son of a well-to-do Scottish family with interests in the sugar trade in British Guiana. At the age of sixteen he entered the service of the North West Company where he remained until its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. From then on Douglas, because of his outstanding ability and strength of character, steadily rose through the ranks, until in 1835, he received the commission of chief trader, in 1840 that of chief factor, in 1849 was appointed agent on Vancouver Island for Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies, and in

(1)
 September, 1851, became governor of Vancouver Island. With the founding of the colony of British Columbia, in 1858, he severed all connection with the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Companies and became governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

Douglas was well acquainted with the West. From the year 1825, he had led an adventurous life, first in New Caledonia, then at Fort Vancouver where he had been a trusted assistant of Dr. John McLoughlin, whom he succeeded, and finally in the Colony of Vancouver Island. R. L. Reid says of him:

Douglas was a man born to command. Tall, over 6 feet in height, and powerfully built, he had always been a dominating figure whatever his surrounding. Used, from an early age, to exercise absolute power over his savage and half-savage underlings; accustomed to owe his personal security and success in the matters confided to him by the Company and his ^{own} strength and dominance, far from any possibility of outside support; his training, coupled with his personal qualifications and natural ability, fitted him to be a ruler of men. He took authority as his lawful right and exercised it unflinchingly; in general, wisely, but always firmly - it maybe sometimes harshly.

In later years, as Governor of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, he was an autocrat. Punctilious to a fault and impatient of any opinions but his own, he was a strong man, to whom unlimited power was given in a time of storm and stress, when the qualities of an autocrat were necessary to keep in check a turbulent mob of adventurers from all quarters of the world, thrown on a new land, empty of all but the aborigines.

(1) Sage, W. N., James Douglas, Passim.

Under the peculiar conditions he was the right man in the right place. (2)

That James Douglas was the 'right man in the right place' cannot be disputed. The Colonial Office was fortunate in having such a capable person to meet the exigency of the time. When Douglas was appointed governor of the new colony of British Columbia, he was given not only the usual powers of a governor but also full legislative authority to pass such statutes as he should think necessary, subject only to the power of disallowance by the Home Government. Douglas' success, therefore, depended upon his business skill and his capacity for leadership.

Moody, on the other hand, could not be regarded as an autocrat. That he demanded and received respect and absolute obedience is evident in the orders given to his corps. Always dignified, affable, and jolly, he won the esteem and affection not only of his own men but also of most people with whom he came into contact.

Moody and Douglas were brought together by the founding of British Columbia - two men with widely diverging backgrounds, but both strong, alert, well-trained, and efficient in his own line of work, and both accustomed to and expected to exercise authority. However, one cannot help but

(2) Reid, R. L., The Assay Office and the Proposed Mint, P. 9.

feel that Sir E. B. Lytton, inadvertently, made an error in the official relationship into which he placed these two (3) leaders. As has been explained previously Douglas was to be the 'supreme' authority in the colony, while Moody's duties were to be regarded as special, and were not 'on any account to be interfered with except under circumstances of gravest necessity'. (4) Of these two orders Douglas accepted and acted upon the first and practically ignored the second. The Colonial Office, knowing and having confidence in the character and Colonial experience of Moody, but ignorant of the dictatorial and autocratic nature of Douglas, did not foresee a possible conflict of duties or personalities in these two men. As far as administrative work was concerned, Colonel Moody submitted unquestionably to the 'supreme' authority, but when 'military' problems were in the fore, he asserted the authority which he considered was rightly his.

On his arrival from England, Moody was received by Douglas and from the private correspondence which passed between them, one would judge they were on friendly terms. It

(3) Moody himself felt this later as is evident in letter from Moody to H. P. P. Crease, September 9, 1870. (Crease Correspondence, Provincial Archives). Douglas had put in no apprenticeship in the Colonial Office and was not well known there. Moody, on the other hand, though not directly connected with the Colonial Office, had won respect as a Royal Engineer and was better known in London.

(4) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 55. (Merivale to Moody, August 23, 1858).

(5)

was not until May 16, 1859, that the tone of Douglas' letters show an abrupt change. By this time Colonel Moody had expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms both as to the choice of the capital of British Columbia and as to the settlement of the land lying between the Fraser River and the Frontier. It is generally believed that Douglas, being practically forced to yield, resented the fact that anyone in the colony had the power to overrule him. However this is not revealed in the

(6)

correspondence of the time, but knowing Douglas' character, one realizes that he would feel not only be-littled but upset. There seems only one explanation for his 'apparent' friendly relationship with Moody - he feared his 'dormant' commission. However, when Sir E. B. Lytton pointed out to Douglas that Moody was to act as Lieutenant Governor only under certain circumstances, Douglas' suppressed emotions came to the fore and the subsequent letters mirrored his real feelings. From then on the relationship between Moody and Douglas, being antagonistic, affected the plans and work of both.

(5) Douglas to Moody, May 16, 1859. (Douglas Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(6) Helen Ferguson writing of this refers to it as 'a surrender which was none too graceful in private'. (Thesis, P. 37). I really cannot find any grounds for this statement. There is no record of the two men quarreling in private over administrative affairs. Moody does not strike me as being the type of man given to argument - he would state his case but not argue about it. Douglas was afraid of Moody's 'dormant' commission at that time.

From the first one realizes that Moody had a definite military 'bias' and looked upon military activity in British Columbia as his special field. Two examples have just been referred to. Two letters may be quoted to illustrate how pugnacious he was when he considered Douglas had ignored his authority. One refers to the selection of a town site on the Similkameen River. On August 15, 1860, Moody received a letter from Douglas informing him that he had instructed the Magistrate of the District, Peter O'Reilly, to select a site on the Similkameen. In replying to the letter Moody said:

I hasten to urge your Excellency to authorize the Department alone qualified and properly chargeable with such duties - namely the Department of Lands and Works - on all occasions to execute such services.

In this particular case such a duty more particularly devolves on myself in person. The site of all towns as well as all wood trails or communications of whatsoever nature along our Continental Frontier possesses a Military importance of the highest character and in this instance the importance is great. It is the first town across the main Range of Mountains, easier of approach from the United States Frontier than from hence and directly on what would be the main Line of Operations . . .

I feel I could not discharge from myself to anyone else whosoever this important service and I must respectfully request your Excellency by

return boat to authorize my proceeding thither. (7)

Although Moody considered the choice of town sites, trails and communications the most important function of his department, (8) it will be noticed he refrained, as was his custom, from acting without the governor's consent.

The second letter was written by Moody on March 31, 1863, immediately after he had been instructed by letter to (9) send a certain officer to Victoria to have a personal interview with Governor Douglas concerning services about to be executed in the Cariboo District. Moody said:

I purpose conferring with you myself, and conveying your desires to the officer who may be charged with the details.

I shall also learn your wishes respecting the distribution of the Royal Engineers during the season; this altogether affects the distribution of officers. It is a military question that may not have occurred to you.

Captain Grant will be directed to accompany

(7) Moody to Douglas, August 24, 1860. (Provincial Archives). (Moody asked to have a copy of this letter sent to Secretary of State). This town likely refers to Princeton at the end of the Hope-Similkameen Road. In writing to the Home Government Douglas expressed what he felt about Moody's choice of sites when he said, "People are not generally disposed to perch their houses on bleak mountains and inaccessible cliffs simply because they happen to be good military positions". (B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Colonial Office, January 28, 1861, Provincial Archives).

(8) ibid.

(9) Name not given in letter - probably it refers to Captain Grant.

me, and to be in attendance for such instruction as may then be determined upon. (10)

As a rule Moody's letters to Douglas were business - like and to the point, being the letters of a subordinate written to his superior officer. It was only when Moody felt that he was not being consulted on matters of vital interest to his department that he stated his position in no uncertain terms. Other instructions from Douglas - such as the building of roads (except military) - were carried out by Moody even when (11) he disagreed with them.

Douglas's letters to Moody, on the other hand, although business-like, showed a disrespect for the ability of the Colonel and a far from co-operative attitude. Practically every letter complained first about the expenditures incurred by the Royal Engineers and secondly about Moody being so slow and indefinite in making returns. The financial problem will be discussed later. There is no doubt that Moody's official correspondence was at times late. Frequently he was absent when mails arrived and very often he, himself, had to await returns from his men before replying to the Governor. As for the poor returns made early in 1858, Moody

(10) Moody to Douglas, F 1157, March 31, 1863. (Provincial Archives).

(11) One example of this is in the building of the Harrison-Lillooet Road. It has been shown above that Moody did not approve of it but considered a route via the Fraser as preferable. Supra. P. 139.

blamed the 'forms', saying he did not understand what was required. (12) However complaints of this kind were common at that time and Douglas received his share. The New Westminster Hospital Board complained about Douglas not replying to their correspondence for 59 days. (13) Douglas himself could not have been pleased when Moody in his turn complained of not receiving explicit instructions from him. (14) However, one really gets the impression of Douglas's antagonism toward Moody on the margins of Colonel Moody's letters where Douglas' terse, sarcastic remarks are not infrequent. (15)

The correspondence between Colonel Moody and his officers showed a marked contrast to that of Governor Douglas to Colonel Moody. In writing his instructions to his men Colonel Moody, although business-like and definite, showed an appreciation of their problems. The letters from the officers to Colonel Moody reveal not only their many problems but how

(12) The official correspondence during this period seems quite adequate. The Royal Engineers Letter Books, The Lands and Works Letter Books and Moody's Letters to Douglas contain a tremendous amount of correspondence.

(13) British Columbian, February 6, 1862. (Editorial on Hospital).

(14) Moody to Douglas, May 16, 1859, December 2, 1859. (Provincial Archives).

(15) Douglas to Moody. (Provincial Archives).

(16)

they individually re-acted to Governor Douglas. Captain Grant, like W. D. Gosset, found the strain almost unbearable. On March 5, 1861, he asked 'to be relieved from all matters relating to the Colonial Pay of the Detachment under your (Moody's) command'. To this Moody replied:

To an officer of so long standing as yourself, I look with confidence for support and relief in these duties, although they may not be attended as in my own case with much from what both you and I would very naturally wish to be relieved - Such, however, is the Public Service. (17)

Twice after this, Captain Grant, expressed his desire to resign. (18)

The financial problem was the greatest source of worry to all interested in the new colony. The Colonial Office, feeling that this gold colony should pay its own way,

(16) W. D. Gosset who was treated in a similar manner broke down under the 'bullying' he received from Douglas. Supra, P. 170. Colonel Moody apparently assumed an air of passive resistance and tried not to let Douglas worry him.

(17) Royal Engineers Letter Book 3, P. 254, March 5, 1861. This is the only letter I came across that showed how Moody really felt.

(18) Moody Correspondence, F 1155 (April 3, 1861).
F 1156 (December 8, 1862).

(19)

and assured by Douglas that it would, was reluctant to lend money. Douglas, accustomed to making 'profits' in the Hudson's Bay Company, adopted the policy of 'pay as you go'. Colonel Moody, on the other hand, steeped in the traditions of the British army and of the Colonial Office, had probably never been forced to economize as rigidly as in British Columbia.

Douglas was continually impressing upon Moody the necessity of economy and Moody in his turn cautioned his men. (20)
The work of making surveys and of constructing roads was hindered by lack of funds. (21) Moody, himself, was allowed no general fund on which to draw and frequently spent his own

(19) B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 1. (Douglas to Lytton, October 4, 1858).

Cf. B. C. Papers, Pt. II, P. 20. (Douglas to Lytton, November 4, 1858).

At first Lytton suggested that Royal Engineers would be maintained 'at the Imperial cost for only a limited period, and that the Colony would afterwards have to defray the expense thereof'. However, on January 15, 1859 Douglas received a communication to the fact that 'Her Majesty's Government now expect that British Columbia shall be self-supporting and that the first charge upon the land sales must be that of defraying all the expenses which the engineer party shall occasion'. The British Treasury was to be re-imbursed for all expenditure incurred. (This policy had to be changed later).

(20) Numerous letters to this effect are found in the Moody Correspondence. Frequently there is a reference to the sale of picks, shovels and horses used at various places and to save the expense of transportation. Moody, in one letter, even asks permission to buy hay for his horses. (Douglas to Moody, F 485, November 15, 1859, Douglas Correspondence).

(21) B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Colonial Office, May 21, 1863.

money to keep the work going. Captain Grant did this also.⁽²²⁾
 Douglas, at times, did allow Moody an 'advance warrant' to pay
 for materials needed for the building up of the country, but
 this was always overdrawn and a continual source of controversy
 between the Governor and the Commissioner.⁽²³⁾ At no time in
 Moody's sojourn in British Columbia was he given a grant on
 which to carry on his part of the work.

The fact that Douglas and Moody did not work well
 together was evident in the financial returns made by them.
 Reporting on the same expenditure, the two men would frequently
 describe the transaction in different terms, in one year an
 item of expenditure would be entered against military and the
 following year against colonial.⁽²⁴⁾ Besides showing a lack of
 co-operation between the Governor and the Commissioner of Lands
 and Works, these financial statements reveal the haphazard way
 in which the Colonial Office dealt with Colonial affairs at
 that time.

It is impossible to give a complete financial state-
 ments of expenditures of either the Royal Engineers or of the

(22) Grant to Moody, May 12, 1860. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(23) Douglas to Moody, F 485, November 8, 1859. (Douglas Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(24) Moody to Colonial Secretary, F 1156, November 14, 1862. (Moody Correspondence)

colony at that time as statistics are not available. However, (25) illustrations appear in the appendix. That the Royal Engineers were a tremendous expense and a drain on the new colony is evident by merely studying the Regimental and Colonial pay (26) allowed. The fact that they spent the winter months in camp at Sapperton was a great expense and was criticized by many although Colonel Moody gave a detailed account of the work (27) done by the men during those months. Arthur Harvey in his 'Statistical Account of British Columbia' states the revenue (excluding loans) and the expenditure (excluding redemption of debt) for British Columbia as follows:

	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	
1860 -	\$266,635	\$235,885	
1861 -	291,980	349,750	
1862 -	442,985	697,030	
1863 -	554,390	737,990	(28)

Another source which reveals a certain amount of information is the 'Parliamentary Debates' which gives the following

(25) Appendix V, A, B, C, D.

(26) ibid., I, A. A notice appeared in the 'British Colonist' September 20, 1866, to the effect that 'the British Columbian Government has had placed to its credit in London \$50,000, the amount paid by it for the support, of the Sappers and miners quartered in the colony from 1859-1862.

(27) ibid., VI.

(28) Harvey, Arthur, A Statistical Account of British Columbia Ottawa, 1867, P. 10. (intended as a companion for Year Book 1867).

amounts set aside for British Columbia:

July 28, 1859 - £42,998 (£37,000 of this for cost of transportation of R.E. to B. C.)

Aug. 16, 1860	-	15,000
July 17, 1861	-	8,600
June 12, 1862	-	9,000
June 25, 1863	-	17,121

(29)

Commenting on these amounts Fortescue said on July 28, 1859, that the chief expense arose from sending out a party of sappers and miners 'which was the act of the late Government, and an unfortunate accident - the burning of the ship conveying stores - had increased the amount'.

Possibly the newspapers of the day revealed more clearly than anything else Douglas' attitude towards Colonel Moody (and also to New Westminster) and the reaction of the people to it. It is only fair to state, however, that the 'British Columbian' edited by John Robson - a close friend of Moody and hostile to Douglas - definitely supported Moody in practically all his actions, while Amor de Cosmos, editor of the 'Colonist', although a 'lover of the world' loved neither

(29) Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series.
 1. V. 155, P. 522 3. V. 164, P. 1028
 2. V. 160, P. 1363 4. V. 167, P. 496
 5. V. 171, PP. 1482-1483.
 Hereafter referred to as 'Hansard'.

(30) *ibid.*, July 28, 1859. (V. 155, P. 522).

Moody nor Douglas. Probably the most important fact about these newspaper items is that they frequently found their way to England where they may have influenced the opinion of the Colonial Office. ⁽³¹⁾ On February 25, 1863, an article in the 'British Columbian' under the heading, 'The Royal Engineers in British Columbia' stated how the Royal Engineers had suffered under the rule of Douglas.

Four years have expired since their arrival in the Colony and the questions forced upon us are, Have the instructions of Sir E. B. Lytton been faithfully carried out by the Queen's Representatives? Have the navigable rivers and lakes been traced and the rapids and portages defined? Have the features of the country been delineated and the best routes discovered in mountain and hill ranges? We can emphatically answer no No more inviting field could have been offered to a body of picked men than British Columbia; and no where could they have achieved greater honor and celebrity, had encouragement been given them to carry out the measures which they were sent here to execute. Every man in the detachment feels himself as having been wronged and degraded and their 'esprit de corps' insulted. Why has there been pursued a consistent diversion from their proper duties? Why have the abilities of those tried men been virtually ignored, and were, if possible, the lustre of their corps tarnished by Governor Douglas's treatment in his disqualified power to estimate them, while costing the Imperial Government a large sum to maintain them?

We are surprised that this state should have continued; that this injustice should have been committed with impunity, and without detection by the present Colonial minister; an injustice that the colonists themselves deeply feel, and for

(31) B. C. Papers, Passim.

Douglas' correspondence to the Colonial Office shows that he frequently enclosed newspaper - generally the Victoria Gazette - in his official returns.

their mutual interests, hail with enthusiasm the coming of the day that will alike terminate the humiliation of the Royal Engineers and the galling bondage of the colonists. We feel confident that the uncovenanted position of this gallant detachment must pain the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, as well as the Colonel commanding. And it strikes us that this whole subject, both in its military and colonial aspect, will form a sufficiently interesting and important one to attract the attention of economists in the House of Commons, and to demand an explanation why this detachment has been hindered from the performance of its legitimate and invaluable duties - what there is to show for the expenditure of half-a-million of dollars in the Colony of British Columbia for its four years' service.

. . . Victoria, Vancouver Island, has, from a combination of pecuniary interests, been the favored political and commercial locality of Governor Douglas. From this radiates the 'ukases' of despotic power. It is there that we are told terminate the navigable waters of these remarkable inland seas. It is there where the united influence and monopoly and power have worked in harmony to centralize temporarily the political and commercial interests of the British possessions on the Pacific coast, to the injury of the Imperial and British Columbian weal. It is there where efforts and energies of no small magnitude are exerted in order that the favored spot may continue to enjoy exclusive privileges; and it is there that the government of British Columbia is conducted by a gentleman pre-eminently disqualified, by a life's association with a company of adventurers in the wilds of North America to exercise despotic rule over thousands of British subjects possessing no voice or power to offer resistance to any measures however oppressive. It naturally follows that the invaluable services of the Royal Engineers have, like the energies of the colonists themselves, been sacrificed to further and consummate the end in view, viz., that the one Colony may flourish at the cost and injury of the

other. (32)

The Victoria papers declared that Moody was not sufficiently aggressive and too weak for the position he held. One article accused him of being too slow in road-building and of allowing the sappers to be 'idle for months' while thousands of dollars were being frittered away. (33) The same article stated 'the road system, or rather the no-road system has assumed the form of a despotism'. The newspapers also expressed their views on the possibility of Moody's becoming a future governor of the mainland. On September 29, 1862, an editorial on 'A Delegate to England' commented on the suggestion that Downing Street be petitioned through the Honorable Malcolm Cameron to appoint Colonel Moody as governor of British Columbia in place of Governor Douglas. The editorial stated that neither colony wanted either Moody or Douglas. After declaring that Colonel Moody was 'played out', it spoke of him as one:

who was never known to have decision enough to know his own mind five minutes at a time - who, beyond pipe-clay and feathering his nest, has done for the country what? Nil. If he were a

(32) British Columbian, February 25, 1863. Similar articles appear January 16, 1861; March 7, 1861; February 6, 1862; April 30, 1862.

(33) Victoria Gazette, December 16, 1859. (Editorial on Mining and Roads in British Columbia).

fit man for Governor, he would long ago have thrown up his Lands and Works commission, rather than serve under Gov. Douglas. But "like master, like servant". (34)

Another editorial, April 13, 1863, after claiming that Governor Douglas was more suitable for the position of governor than Moody, stated:

All the merit, doubtless, that the Columbian can see in Col. Moody is, that he would be purely sectional, and direct his efforts to widen the breach between these colonies, rather than unite them under one government. (35)

An article written on March 2, 1863, declared that the Royal Engineers had been employed in building up the city of New Westminster instead of the colony of British Columbia, and considered that the establishment of a military-civil force, with a military commander and officer, to perform civil duties was 'a blunder both from the political and economical point of view'. The Royal Engineers were referred to as men:

bound down by the articles of war, to the strict rules of military obedience, their mouths gagged, their influence curtailed, human machines, fit forces to resist force, but unable to utter a word or influence opinion or balance parties, at variance alike with civil and military science, a clog to the Executive and a drag on the progress of the Colony. (36)

(34) British Colonist, September 29, 1862, P. 2. (Editorial - 'A Delegate to England').

(35) ibid., April 13, 1863, P. 2.

(36) ibid., March 2, 1863. (Editorial).

Douglas and Moody were also discussed in contemporary books. D. G. F. MacDonald, in 'British Columbia and Vancouver Island', 1862, said of Governor Douglas:

Whilst it is conceded that the present Governor possesses considerable energy, with some ability and power of organization, it will not be denied that he owes his present position infinitely more to the patronage of a powerful company than to any peculiar qualifications for the office . . . He is sadly deficient in knowledge of the privileges and duties of diplomatic agents, in the conduct and management of negotiations, in the courtesies of diplomacy and in the delicacies, as particularly evidenced in the San Juan difficulty, of international law. (37)

The attitude of New Westminster towards Governor Douglas - the background against which Moody worked - was summed up in the 'British Columbian', July 9, 1862:

During three years we, of British Columbia, have borne more political wrong and governmental oppression than can be recorded of any British people during the present century. Deprived systematically and continuously of the common, and, what we were accustomed to consider, inalienable rights of British subjects, law and order have prevailed to an unparalleled extent, considering the character of the population. Accustomed, as most of us were, to the exercise of self-government, it is somewhat remarkable that the history of British Columbia during these four years of despotic rule should not be marked by a single attempt to obtain relief by unconstitutional means. Although taxed to the astounding extent of about sixty dollars a head per annum, we have not only been denied any voice whatever in the expenditure of our revenue, or the management of our affairs, but have on various occasions been subjected to the most cavalier and tyrannical treatment at the hands of the man

(37) MacDonald, D. G. F., op. cit., P. 277.

who holds Her Majesty's commission. Repeated appeals not only to the Governor, but to Her Majesty's Government, have been made by means of petitions and memorials, urging a mitigation at least of the iron and irrepressible rule under which we suffer. (38)

It is surprising how seldom Governor Douglas mentioned Colonel Moody, in either his military or administrative capacity, in the early despatches to the Colonial Office although he frequently enclosed official correspondence which Colonel Moody had asked to have forwarded to the Secretary of State. However, as time elapsed complaints became frequent. On July 2, 1859, Douglas reported to the Duke of Newcastle:

The Colony is most anxious to acquit every obligation conferred upon her, & she is quite capable of meeting all civil expenditure in a fitting & proper manner but the cost of the maintenance of the force with the military heavy charge for Colonial pay, is at present more than her finances can bear . . . I cannot refrain from remarking, however, that the expense of sending the R.E.'s to B.C. is a charge that can scarcely with perfect justness be assigned to the Colony, seeing that after all the object in view is one purely of an Imperial character. (39)

(38) British Columbian, July 9, 1862. (Article on 'Our Political Horizon').

Cf. Sage, James Douglas, p. 295.

Dr. Sage quotes the causes of dissatisfaction as summed up by Douglas under six headings. It would be interesting to know just how much the result of this dissatisfaction was vented upon Colonel Moody. He was really the only one in New Westminster that Douglas could easily attack.

(39) B. C. Despatches, July 2, 1859. (Douglas to Newcastle).

On April 17, 1863, Douglas again complained about the expenses:

The expense of the Royal Engineers is overwhelming, if relieved of that costly ornament we should be better able to cope with other difficulties. I have no complaint to make of the Corps, but their pay and allowances and charges of various kinds are far higher than they ought to be, and added to these the families of the whole detachment, both officers and men, are continually on the increase, and all are supported at the public expense. The disbursement for the Corps, on Colonial account for 1862 exceeds £16,900 against works executed by them, valued at £3,500. The R. Engineers are to British Columbia what the old man of the Sea was to Sinbad, with this aggravation, that H. M. Government helped to fasten the burden on the Colony and I have no power to relieve it. Might not his Grace be induced to move the War Department by discharging men with large families who wish to settle in the Colony; this I am given to understand would please the men and at the same time relieve the public of a heavy charge.

Colonel Moody does not object to that measure, though he may with the Military furore that marks the soldier really desire to add to rather than detract from the small force under his command. Revenue which is vital in our circumstances, can never be materially increased until the Colony is opened by roads and dotted with the habitations of a civilized and industrious people, and every curtailment of unnecessary expense helps to forward that object. (40)

The problem of rations supplied to the Royal Engineers was also a source of worry to Governor Douglas. In
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(40) Governor's Private Official Letter Book. (Douglas to Elliot). April 17, 1863.
Cf. Sage, James Douglas, pp. 299-300.

(41) Appendix VII. When the matter was referred to Dr. Seddall, M.D. he stated, 'The amount and composition of the present scale of Rations is certainly not greater than is requisite'. (Seddall to Moody, November 24, 1859. Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

1862 the amount spent on rations exceeded the £6,020 of 1861 by £1,785. Douglas charged this increase to the fact that the women and children attached to the corps had increased from 65 to 150, the number of children having more than trebled during the five year period. (42) When these facts were sent to the Home Government, Elliot said:

The fact that the whole of the numerous wives and families of these Engineers were drawing rations at immense cost to the public whilst the Governor could not obtain so much as even a list of the recipients . . . will not have escaped the attention of Newcastle. (43)

Douglas' 'Confidential Report on Officers' - now in the Provincial Archives - stated in no uncertain terms the Governor's opinion of Colonel Moody: (44)

R. C. Moody, Lieut. Col. R.E. Chief Com. of Lands & Works. Was appointed Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia in August 1858. Arrived in the Colony in December 1858.

The attainments, high moral worth and gentlemanly qualities of Colonel Moody are familiarly

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- (42) Douglas proposed discharging all those with large families. The problem of rationing servants was also a source of worry to Douglas. (Ferguson, Thesis, P. 53).
- (43) Elliot to Fortescue, July 4, 1862. (PRO CO 60.17) quoted from Ferguson, Thesis, P. 53.
Cf. Moody to Colonial Secretary, F 1157, April 23, 1863. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives). Moody states the number of women and children (including Officer's families) drawing rations as follows:
1858-9 - 42 women - 50 children,
1863 - 40 " - 87 "
- (44) Confidential Report on Public Servants. (Provincial Archives). No date given - Ferguson, Thesis gives 1863, P. 48. Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 301.

known to his friends. I am here in duty bound however to remark that as a public administrator in this Colony, his management has not been satisfactory to me. I have in fact found it necessary to exercise the utmost vigilance over his public acts; and after having narrowly escaped being involved in a ruinous contract for the survey of public lands, which he had entered into with Mr. Joseph Trutch, and from the utter complications of the land system, by a deviation from the spirit, if not from the letter of the Pre-emption Act, I found it requisite to issue the most precise instructions for his guidance in matters of finance as well as of general administration, though previously induced by his position to allow a wide discretion. I enclose a copy of a note from Col. Moody, advocating a plan of public relief, at a period of apprehended distress, when a heavy pressure from without was brought to bear upon the Government, as a specimen of his administrative talents. My reply which is also transmitted is somewhat curt, but it was written under a feeling of irrepressible indignation at the countenance lent by an officer of high position to a reckless scheme, which would have been ruinous to the Colony and of no practical advantage to those whom it was proposed to serve as a moment's reflection would have sufficed to shew (sic), that admitting the absence of command, were utterly inadequate to the conveyance of food, to the remote Districts where only it could be wanted, and that the population would either be relieved or have left the country before the Government supplies could reach them. Age about 50. Health and constitution good.

Supporting Douglas in his opinion of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers was Amor De Cosmos who in an editorial (45) on March 2, 1863, stated:

We believe that the establishment of a military-civil force, with a military commander and officers to perform civil duties . . . was a

(45) British Colonist, March 2, 1863, P. 2.

blunder whether it be regarded in a political or economical point of view . . . As auxiliaries to assist the civil magistrate in preserving order in case of necessity they strengthened the executive; but for all the practical and everyday details of civil affairs, they have weakened, lessened the power and influence of the executive, and retarded the political progress of British Columbia. The policy of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in sending out the Engineers to engage in civil duties was a blunder - an egregious blunder that no practical colonial statesman would ever have committed . . . the Utopian policy of Sir Bulwer Lytton sends a batch of military colonists to British Columbia, bound down by the articles of war to the strict rules of military obedience, their mouths gagged, their influence curtailed, human machines, fit forces to resist force, but unable to utter a word or influence opinion, or balance parties, at variance alike with civil and military science, a clog to the Executive and a drag on the progress of the Colony.

It is little wonder that while Governor Douglas and Victoria was thus belittling and complaining about the work of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in New Westminster, the Home Government was changing its opinion of both Douglas and Moody. The official despatches, colonial newspapers, and 'Memorials', which were frequently reaching their hands gave every indication of dissatisfaction and friction. By April, 1859, Lytton was worrying about Douglas' autocratic tendencies as is evident in his words "If not checked, he will get himself and us into great scrapes"⁽⁴⁶⁾. By 1863, the Home Officials felt that Douglas 'frequently took important steps on his own

(46) Douglas to Lytton, February 7, 1859. (PRO CO 60.3).
 Comment by Lytton, April 1, 1859. (Ferguson, Thesis, p. 82).

responsibility and when required to explain, was guilty of
 "shuffling"⁽⁴⁷⁾. A few months later the Duke of Newcastle spoke
 of 'Mr. Douglas' successor'.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It seems that by this time, al-
 though Douglas was promised a six year term in a confidential
 letter from Sir E. B. Lytton,⁽⁴⁹⁾ he was not being considered for
 a further period. A memorandum from the Home Office states:

I wrote privately to Mr. Douglas . . . that
 I should, when my plans were complete relieve him
 of both Governments. I made this as little un-
 pleasant to him as I could, and told him that when
 I wrote to him officially I would take every care
 to prevent his enemies having a triumph over him. (50)

Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers, in their
 turn, were also being discussed at the Colonial Office as is
 evident by reports in Hansard's 'Parliamentary Debates'. On
 August 16, 1860, in a discussion that followed the voting of
 £15,000 for British Columbia, Fortescue said:

a considerable expense was unavoidable in the
 establishment of a colony of this kind. A large
 sum had been spent in sending out a corps of

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- (47) Note, Elliot to Newcastle, re despatches, Douglas to
 Newcastle, January 10, 1863. (PRO CO 60.15 #2135).
 Ferguson, Thesis, P. 82.
- (48) Newcastle, April 22, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson,
Thesis, P. 52.
- (49) B. C. Papers, Pt. I, P. 43. (Lytton to Douglas, July
 16, 1858).
- (50) Newcastle's Minutes, March 27, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17).
Ferguson, Thesis, P. 90). A few months later Douglas
 received his knighthood. He was relieved of his office
 on April 13, 1864, four months before the expiration of
 his six-year term.

Engineers, but they had not answered expectations. (51)

Again on July 17, 1861, after £8,600 had been voted for British Columbia, Adderly took objection to the vote.

In particular he objected to the charges for the Royal Engineers. They had been sent out to survey the land and land surveys should be paid for by the colony. If they were intended for defence the number was ridiculous. He hoped that in a few months they should hear of British Columbia meeting its own civil expenditure. He also thought that some explanation should be given of the item of £2000 for contingencies. He did not know why this country ought to be called upon to contribute to the civil expenditure of British Columbia. (52)

In the discussion that followed Fortescue said that the greater part of the vote was for the additional pay of the Royal Engineers owing to the high price of provisions in the colony and remarked:

. . . if the cost of the Royal Engineers were left out of the question, British Columbia did at the present moment bear its own expenditure. (53)

On June 12, 1862, in a discussion that followed a vote of £9000 for British Columbia, Mr. Baxter asked if the colony had ever paid a 'farthing' of the proposed contribution. Mr.

(51) Hansard, V. 106, P. 1363, August 16, 1860.
Fortescue was the mouthpiece of the colonial office in House of Commons and opposed Lytton's policy.

(52) ibid., V. 164, P. 1028, July 17, 1861.

(53) ibid.

Fortescue's reply was that the colony had paid a considerable sum for the expenses of the Royal Engineers, in fact, 'it had defrayed a larger proportion than most young colonies were asked to contribute, or even most old ones'. Finally, in July, 1863, the summary of the Duke of Newcastle's report in the 'Parliamentary Debates' was reported as follows:

The right Honorable Gentleman who had preceded him (Sir E. Bulwer Lytton) was perfectly justified in establishing that system as an experiment; but in all respects it had not worked well, and it was not desirable it should be continued. Some blame had been thrown on the Governor, Mr. Douglas, but he (the Duke of Newcastle) did not think it was at all deserved. (54)

In writing to Elliot in January, 1863, Irving said:

the opinion has been long entertained at this office that the corps of Royal Engineers in British Columbia is too costly and does not yield commensurate advantages. (55)

Moody's term of civil service was to be completed in October, 1863. The question arose whether he would be asked to continue in his present service. The Duke of Newcastle decided in the negative even though there might be "some risk in having no military force at all where the San Juan affair

(54) Hansard, V. 167, P. 496.
Cf. British Columbian, August 6, 1862.

(55) ibid., V. 172, P. 50, July 25, 1863.

(56) Irving to Elliot, January 27, 1863. (PRO CO 60. 17).
Ferguson, Thesis, P. 47.

was so recent" but he felt that it was "an experiment well
 (57)
 worth trying as an encouragement to Volunteers". Carnarvon,
 uneasy about weakening the defences of the colony, had suggest-
 ed that the disbanded 'Engineers' could be located along "the
 frontier or in the neighbourhood of future naval and military
 (58)
 posts".

The fact that the sappers had a six-year term to
 complete in contrast to the officers' five was another problem.
 Irving suggested that to grant land at the end of five years
 instead of six "would be a boon (to the men) whilst to the
 colony it would give the advantage of being relieved so much
 (59)
 the sooner of the heavy cost of their pay". Fortescue suggest-
 ed that some 25 Royal Engineers be retained for the lands
 office. Newcastle agreed to this number with the addition of
 three officers, in spite of the fact that Lugard was not in
 favour of the plan, saying that the 'Engineers' appeared "by
 all accounts that we receive to have been somewhat over-
 indulged. Retaining a part of them might only prolong heart-

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- (57) Newcastle's note, March 27, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17).
 Ferguson, Thesis, P. 50. There was a military station x
 at Esquimalt.
- (58) Carnarvon to Newcastle, September 1, 1858. (PRO CO 60.17)
 Ferguson, Thesis, P. 50.
- (59) Irving to Elliot, June 20, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17) Ferguson,
Thesis, P. 50.

(60)
burnings and difficulties".

As far as Colonel Moody was concerned Blackwood felt that "the Office hasn't sufficiently considered the case of (61) Moody". Was he to retain his civil appointment of Commissioner of Lands and Works? When this was considered impracticable Blackwood said:

Take care to make the announcement of the termination of Moody's employment as little unpalatable to the Colony as we can . . .

Be careful not to employ any terms which will give Colonel Moody the opportunity of offering to stay in British Columbia in the capacity of Chief Commissioner. He is not unlikely to offer to leave the Army if he could be continued in his present office, an arrangement which I judge the Duke would not listen to. (62)

Elliot was of the same opinion.

He has not seemed very content with his sphere in British Columbia; and to leave him there with nothing but a subordinate Civil Office would be to expose the governor of the colony, either present or future, to the inconvenience of a rival without even the benefit of a very efficient assistant. (63)

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- (60) Elliot, July 4, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson, Thesis, PP. 50-51. These suggestions were not carried out.
- (61) Blackwood, April 14, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson, Thesis, P. 51.
- (62) Blackwood, May 29, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson, Thesis, PP. 51-52. The Duke of Newcastle had already said: "I have no doubt he is looking to the Governorship (for which he is not fit) and would be a discontented subordinate to Mr. Douglas' successor". (Newcastle, April 22, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson, Thesis, P. 52.
- (63) Elliot, April 21, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17). Ferguson, Thesis, P. 52.

Such were the opinions gradually formed and expressed by the officials of the Home Government. The animosity and friction which existed between Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody, and between the Island and Mainland Colonies, augmented the tenseness of the situation and were only too clearly revealed in the despatches and newspapers sent to the Colonial Office.

On July 13, 1863, Dougald McTavish, the chief Representative of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, wrote to A. G. Dallas, the Governor of the Company:

Orders have come out for the Royal Engineers to go to England immediately after the New Year, so that Colonel Moody and his staff of Surveyors will do no work, their time being nearly up - this is worrying but cannot be helped.

The Governor (Douglas) has so much to do, making roads and so forth in British Columbia, that there is no drawing his attention to our matters, and, when we do call on him to act, his invariable answer is, that he can not get Moody to do anything, and I dare say there is some truth in it, as it is shrewdly surmised that His Excellency has had more to do with the recall of the Engineers home than any one else, and they all feel that they are leaving under a cloud. (64)

That Douglas more than anything or anyone else was

(64) Quoted in Watkin, Sir E. W., Canada and the States, London, 1887, P. 253.

Cf. Howay and Scholefield, op. cit., P. 109.

Cf. Sage, James Douglas, P. 300.

It looks as if, by this time, Moody is ignoring Douglas' letters. Practically all of Moody's correspondence is now directed to the Secretary of State, instead of to Douglas as formerly. Of course, it still goes through Douglas's office. Dallas was the son-in-law of Governor Douglas.

responsible for the recall of the Royal Engineers and for his own downfall is evident. However the final decision to terminate Lytton's experiment in empire building was made by the Newcastle administration, who, weary of the expense and continual friction in the colonies, considered it unnecessary to consult colonial opinion.

Chapter 14

The Royal Engineers Disbanded.

Early in June, 1863, there were rumours that the Royal Engineers would be recalled. On July 8 the order was read on parade. Time was ripe for this recall as is evident by a letter sent by Douglas to the Colonial Office, on May 23, 1863.

We are only finishing the indispensable works, which will bring population, wealth and prosperity to the Colony. No more works of any importance are being undertaken, we are only completing those commenced last year and are now nearly all paid for. (1)

After receiving the order to disband Moody spent the remainder of the time finishing up the odd jobs and in making separate arrangements for those who were leaving and those who were remaining in the colony. For the latter, Colonel Moody and his officers did all in their power to secure positions or work for them either with the government or elsewhere. (2)

In a confidential letter written on October 26, 1863, Colonel Moody asked Douglas to reconsider his order

(1) Douglas - Private Official Letter Book, ED 101.10 (1859-64). Douglas to Blackwood, May 23, 1863.

(2) Royal Engineers Letter Book 4, Passim.
Cf. Memo Book I, Passim.
These books contain many letters from both officers and men concerning work after their discharge.

concerning Colonial pay and told him what the Royal Engineers thought of their discharge:

I am discharging from 15 to 20 men a day from the Royal Engineers and I once more urge your Excellency to reconsider your order respecting the colonial pay while these men are still accessible.

It would be wrong of me to conceal from you that the universal feeling of the men is that they have been dealt with in a manner to which soldiers are utterly unaccustomed.

Soldiers are taught to believe that the promise of their superiors never fails and would never be ignored by higher authority, and most assuredly as I have already informed your Excellency, this Detachment at the close of five years' faithful Service, is not being dealt with in the spirit of the promises made to them before leaving England. (3)

The Imperial Government had arranged that the men and non-commissioned officers should receive grants of agricultural land not exceeding 30 acres each, after six years of continuous service in the colony. (4) However, after five years' service, the 'Engineers' who remained in the colony received a free grant of 150 acres of land each. (5) A few of the men were kept

(3) Moody to Douglas, F 1158, October 26, 1863. (Confidential) I could not find what Douglas had planned to do about colonial pay. He had no intention however of keeping the Royal Engineers on the colonial payroll.

(4) Begg, op. cit., P. 233.

(5) Appendix VIII.

Miss Wolfenden says the land given was often too poor to be of use. Men who had served for 14 years, and over, considered themselves entitled to a gratuity of about £33. Moody named 12 men entitled to this gratuity. I could find no other reference concerning it. (Moody to Douglas, F 1158, November 3, 1863, Moody Correspondence).

on in government positions such as armourers, as Customs' Officers, and as Lithographic Printers; others found work as gardeners, masons, carpenters, hotelkeepers, tailors, tanners, grocers, architects, surveyors and such like. (6) Through the solicitation of Colonel Moody the married men were permitted to continue to occupy the houses in which they were living, (7) providing the buildings were not required for public service. Douglas also allowed certain buildings of amusement (which had been built at the private cost of the Royal Engineers) to be leased to them for seven years at the nominal rent of one shilling per annum. (8) The valuable library which was the property of the 'Detachment' was 'by general consent' handed over for the use of the men who had taken their discharge and settled in the colony. (9)

It was necessary at this time to appoint a new 'Commissioner of Lands and Works'. On September 28, 1863,

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- (6) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, p. 11. There are only seven survivors of the 'Thames City' today. Arthur Herring, John Scales, Hugh Murray, Mrs. William Turnbull, Mrs. Jane Wardle, John McMurphy and John Murray. (Daily Province, April 17, 1938). * The Thames City
- (7) Moody, Memo Book I, September 3, 1863. Many of the men had already built homes in the vicinity of 'The Camp'.
- (8) Moody to Colonial Secretary, F 1158. (Moody Correspondence October 10, 1863). Royal Engineers really wished to purchase this property but considered it would not be granted so asked for lease.
- (9) Moody to Colonial Secretary, F 1158. (Moody Correspondence October 24, 1863).

Moody asked Douglas to name a successor, 'even as temporary measure', with whom a commencement could be made in handing over the affairs of government. Moody, himself, suggested Jos. W. Trutch, and mentioned Mr. Priers, acting Survey-General, and a non-commissioned officer, Corporal Howse, as possibilities. He also suggested that Sergeant Rylatt act as clerk and receive such stores as were not sold. Colonel Moody was evidently led to believe that Chartres Brew, who had succeeded Gosset as superintendent of the Assay Office, was to be appointed as he referred to him as 'my successor' on October 28, 1863. However Douglas' choice was ~~as~~ Captain Luard whose appointment he recommended to London. Moody was not informed of this until a few days before his departure when Douglas proposed that Captain Luard's departure be delayed. Moody, resenting the fact that he, as Luard's commanding officer, had not been consulted before Douglas had made the recommendation to the Colonial Office, said that the position in which he had been placed was "very embarrassing and most repugnant to my position and all

(10) Moody to Douglas, F 1157, September 28, 1863. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(11) Moody, Memo Book I, October 28, 1863. (Provincial Archives).

(12) Moody Correspondence, F 1158 (loose page with letter from Moody to Douglas, November 3, 1863).

(13)

my desires . . . I wish you had consulted me". As this was written on the day previous to his departure, Moody had to make a quick decision which he expressed in these words:

I do not see how I can take on myself to leave an officer behind for a redelivery and to assume charge of my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief in discriminating duties and recognizing the relative claims and fitness of officers. (14)

While at sea Moody prepared copies of the correspondence relating to Luard's appointment and sent them to the Colonial Office with an explanation of his own position. On receiving these documents, Irving remarked, "The situation is somewhat embarrassing; the Duke's despatches appointing Luard is signed and would have been sent . . . No use sending, because Luard has arrived in England". (15) As a result, Joseph W. Trutch received his first official position in the colony - Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and Surveyor-General of British Columbia. On July 1, 1871, he received the appointment of first Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

As Colonel Moody was desirous of incurring as little expense as possible on the return trip to England, such articles as blankets, rugs and 'damaged stores' were sold by

(13) Moody to Douglas, November 13, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17).
Ferguson, Thesis, PP. 87-88.

(14) Ferguson, Thesis, P. 88.

(15) Note, Irving to Rogers, December 31, 1863, on Moody to Colonial Office, December 1^o, 1863. (PRO CO 60.17).
Ferguson, Thesis, P. 88.

public auction in New Westminster on October 22, 1863. This
 (16)
 sale brought £73 19s. Other articles were transferred to the
 (17)
 military hospital. The 'bell,' which belonged to the Royal
 Engineers, was sold on their departure to the fire department
 (18)
 for £47.12.2. The 'arms' and 'ammunition' (a very big item)
 (19)
 were left at the governor's request in the colony. The horses
 were transferred to the 'Gold Escort'.

On October 7, 1863 Lieutenant Palmer was married to
 a daughter of Archdeacon Wright, the chaplain of the Detach-
 ment, at Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster, and the follow-
 ing day Captain Luard was married to a Miss Leggett at Christ

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- (16) Moody to Colonial Secretary, F 1158, Moody Correspondence
 October 27, 1863.
- (17) Moody to Douglas, F 1157, Moody Correspondence, September
 26, 1863.
- (18) Royal Engineers Letter Book 4, P. 29. (Moody to F. G.
 Richards, Chief Engineer - Fire Department). This is the
 amount the Royal Engineers paid for it.
- (19) Moody to Douglas, F 1158. (Moody Correspondence, October
 5, 1863). Approximate numbers: Rifles-Lancaster 181,
 Short Enfield 6, Cavalry Carbines 4, Swords 16, Revolvers
 185, Short Swords 192, Belts, Pouches also Rifle and Re-
 volver Ammunition 138 cases. A letter written February
 26, 1868, by the Under-Secretary of State to War Office
 requested that a claim of £675.2.4 against the government
 of B.C. for revolvers and ammunition left by Colonel
 Moody R.E., on loan, for the use of the colony might be
 withdrawn on account of the embarrassed state of its
 finances. The claim was allowed to remain in abeyance
 until the necessary funds would be available. ((War
 Office - Under-Secretary of State, April 20, 1868).
 (PRO CO 60.34).

(20)

Church, Victoria.

On November 6, 1863, Colonel Moody and the Officers of the Royal Engineers were tendered a complimentary dinner at the Colonial Hotel, New Westminster. The President of the Council, Robert Dickinson, occupied the chair. In responding to the toast of 'Colonel Moody and Officers of the Royal Engineers', Colonel Moody said:

We have simply striven our best to do our duty. This is what a soldier has always before him. It is his highest ambition to do his duty well . . .

It was an experiment, gentlemen, a novelty mingling thus military and civil duties. How far it has met what was sought for by the Government is not for me to say. I, ever, as was natural, and as was my duty, kept the military part foremost in my mind and it is with feelings of extreme satisfaction I can reflect on that part of our service in British Columbia. You have been witnesses throughout of our discipline, and at the same time how we - soldiers - have borne ourselves in our social relations with you. Some anxiety was felt on the probable result of this part of the experiment. I had no fear. I

(20) Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 10.

(21) British Columbian, November 7, 1863.

An editorial on the farewell banquet, reporting the absence of all government officials except four - Captain Cooper (Harbour Master), Messrs. Claudet and Bacon (Assay Department) and John Cooper (Chief Clerk of the Treasury), comments on the 'rudeness' and 'pity' of it, and suggests that they wished to 'gratify the vindictive feelings of a Governor'. It also states - 'It is perhaps one of the most extraordinary and ungraceful acts which these officials as a class, could have been guilty of'.

had full confidence from the beginning in the class of men I had the honour to command. I knew what they were; I knew how well they would act, and in this I have not been mistaken.

With respect to the peculiar trials, difficulties and embarrassments through which we have striven, I think I may say more particularly those difficulties that have borne so heavily on myself, I refrain from particularizing. It would be unbecoming in me to do so, and is not necessary . . .

. . . For myself, my functions as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works will cease when I embark for England, but from that moment I can be, and I shall be, more truly a British Columbian than ever. (22)

Colonel Moody was also the recipient of a complimentary address from the Municipal Council of New Westminster and from the St. Andrew's Society on the day preceding his departure. (23)

The steamer 'Enterprise', sailed from New Westminster at noon, on November 11, 1863, with Colonel Moody, Mrs. Moody and seven children, Captain Grant, Mrs. Grant and three children, Captain Parsons and Captain Luard with his bride. An hour later H. M. S. 'Cameleon', followed with Lieutenant Palmer

(22) British Columbian, November 7, 1863. (Editorial).
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 10.

(23) British Columbian, November 14, 1863.
Cf. Howay, The Work of the Royal Engineers, P. 10.

(24) Three children were born in British Columbia.
Royal Engineers Letter Book 4, P. 36. (See also PP. 9, 12).

(25)

and bride, Dr. Seddall and 15 sappers with wives and children.

The disbanding of the Royal Engineers was commented on, editorially, in the Colonial papers. The 'British Columbian' after pointing out the futility of expecting 'the military and civilian to fraternize' in a colony especially 'when the former, in addition to their military duties, are assigned civil duties also' stated:

In a young Colony like British Columbia, where the engineer, the mechanic and the laborer are frequently unable to obtain employment, the sight of soldiers doing the public works, which would otherwise afford employment to many who ^{are} in actual need, is a very trying one and well calculated to beget a feeling of jealousy between these two distinct elements. The fact, too, that this corps was designed to answer the purposes of a police force, to keep us in order, was calculated of itself to raise a barrier between them and the people.

Taking all these difficulties and disadvantages into consideration it is marvellous how the experiment has turned out . . . In their intercourse with the people, whether in the discharge of their civil or military duties, they have succeeded in completely keeping down anything like a feeling of jealousy, and have almost made the colonists feel that they were one of themselves.

. . . It is due to Colonel Moody to say he has performed his duty under such circumstances, as

(25) Royal Engineers Letter Book 4, P. 36. (See also PP. 9, 12). A complete list of those who returned to England is given in this letter book. A summary at the side states:

Total officers	6	N. Co. & Men	15
" do wives	4	do wives	5
" do children	10 (4 under 3)	do children	7 (4 under 3)

Cf. Moody to Douglas, F 1158, November 3, 1863. (Moody Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

few men would have done. It is no secret to many that he has often patiently and uncomplainingly borne the blame due to his superior without seeking, by word or act, to be relieved of it. . .

The hope was entertained by many in this Colony that, in selecting a new Governor, the choice might fall upon the Colonel. (26)

(27)

The 'Daily Evening Express', Victoria, made its contribution.

In his civil, as well as military administration Colonel Moody has left a name behind him which will be remembered for long years to come, with pride and satisfaction by the people of the Colony. Of his scientific attainments, the town sites and public works, which he laid and executed will be memorials of him which can never be obliterated . . . There is a strong hope entertained among all classes of the Colony that Colonel Moody may return to it at no distant date to fill a higher and more influential position than he has occupied hitherto. In sending him back as Governor, the Home Government would be consulting the wishes of the entire community among whom he has had the good fortune to become so deservedly popular. In the departure of Capts. Grant, Parsons and Luard, Lieut. Palmer and Dr. Seddall, the Colony will have to regret a very great loss. Captain Grant's indomitable perseverance in overcoming every difficulty . . . as well as his high attainments and soldier-like courage . . . the roads which he laid out . . . entitle him to a niche in the gallery of distinguished benefactors of the country. . . . We are happy to find that comparatively very few of the men are leaving the country . . . (28)

(26) British Columbian, November 11, 1863. (Editorial).

(27) Daily Evening Express, Victoria, begun April, 1863. (Wallace and Allan, Proprietors).

(28) ibid., November 14, 1863. (Editorial).

The 'British Colonist' also wrote a long but rather guarded editorial on the departure of the Royal Engineers to England-praising Captain Grant more than Colonel Moody:

Our city is not slow to appreciate the service of those who in the discharge of their public duties have proved faithful to their trusts and honorable in the fulfilment and discharge of them.

(Although Victoria feels it has hardly a right to express) an opinion upon their efficiency and gallantry, we cannot allow the occasion of their departure from these shores to pass without offering a tribute of praise to men and officers, not for their gallant conduct and noble bearing as soldiers, nor for their intrepidity and skill as engineers - for that to members of such a highly distinguished corps as the Royal Engineers would indeed be presumptive - but for the conduct and bearing in their civil capacities, which have been such a signal service and benefit to the sister colony.

. . . The gallant colonel has filled an arduous post as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and has won the good opinion of those with whom in this his civil capacity he has been brought in contact but he whose loss will be most keenly felt by Caribooites and travellers is that gallant officer - Captain Grant. (29)

On his return to England Colonel Moody was gazetted regimental colonel and the following spring was appointed to Chatham District which was considered one of the best appoint-

(29) British Colonist, November 16, 1863. (Editorial).
There is also an apology for not entertaining the officers on their departure, stating feebly that a ball had been planned but arrangements had not been completed.

ments in England. In 1866 he received the honorary rank of major-general ^{at which time} when he retired on full pay to live at Lyme Regis. Captain Grant also received an appointment to Chatham. Dr. Seddall and Captain Luard took an extended leave of absence and Lieutenant Palmer was engaged in a Trigonometrical Survey. (30)

In England, Colonel Moody kept up his interest in British Columbia. A letter from "'A British Columbian' in London" dated October 12, 1866 stated:

. . . I allude to Governor Seymour and General Moody. Both these gentlemen have worked energetically and continuously for the benefit of the colony, as a whole, and have by their exertion, not only brought the Colony and its vast resources into the favorable notice of the Government, but also made them known in many circles, which will ultimately greatly aid in the progress of the Colony; no men have been and are really so true to all your interests. (31)

Letters written to H. P. P. Crease show how Colonel Moody followed the progress of British Columbia and how anxious he was to return. On December, 3, 1867 he wrote:

. . . I see the future quite in the same light that I always did and am quite as confident as ever. The present distress does not dim my light as to the future.

Be assured it would be a happy thing for B. C. and V. I. if they could only end these accursed jealousies and stop the mouths of the real enemies - good men, most excellent and up-right men, I have no doubt, and men who ought

(30) British Colonist, April 4, 1864.

(31) ibid., November 30, 1866. Seymour was then in England.

to know their own interests best but who by constant groaning and utterly desponding accounts, injure their own interests and the interests of every one around them. You can have no idea what difficulties I have here in keeping up a decently fair opinion of the resources and of the future prosperity of the colony.

. . . I often wish I was in the colony just to go about cheering up every one in Victoria as well as New Westminster . . . I wish Seymour would ask for me to come out and just give advice about matters &c. &c.

. . . I want to be able to say, "I hold no land that is unoccupied." (32)

Another letter written to Crease on September 9, 1870, reveals his continued interest in the colony and his desire to return.

(33)

We have eleven children . . . We certainly ought to settle in the colony of British Columbia and it is not impossible that some future day we may do so. But it would be imprudent until our income be increased as no one knows better than myself to hope to make money in a colony or to add to one's income out there would be a sort of moonstruck madness . . . You know we like the Colonies and we all have an especial affection for B. C. and the kind folk there. Doubtless I personally am not very popular, but as I know it to be on mistaken grounds, I should feel that in due time any unkind sort of unpopularity would soon die away. I have not one single unkind thought towards any single one individual in the whole colony . . .

Speaking of his two sons - Charlie, age 15, Walter,

(32) Moody to Crease, December 3, 1867. (Crease Correspondence Provincial Archives) Robert Burnaby, former secretary to Moody, acted as his agent.

(33) Moody had 14 children, 11 survived him. Moody to Crease, September 9, 1870. (Crease Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

age 13½ he says:

Both are destined for B. C., Charlie very early I hope. (34) They are eager to go . . . I am serious when I say I hope to go with them to settle them in those regions of British Columbia even if I don't stay there more than a year or so myself.

. . . I am assuming that local jealousies are at an end and that you are really a united colony, . . . I had many trials, far more bitter than you knew, when I was in British Columbia. You knew some of them and I know you felt for me. I was in a "false position" from first to last and a false position not of my own seeking but at the earnest solicitation of the Secretary of State. I could never hope to make straight that false position, all I could do was to endure. You and a few others, Trutch for instance, knew me and knew what I had to bear and made every allowance. . . . What jolly times we would have if I were living in British Columbia as a country gentleman at 'Mayfield' on the Brunette - perfectly independent of all Colonial squabbles or Government Office matters . . . I can't conceive any life happier . . . I have a perfectly passionate longing for that land at Mayfield and all along the course of the Brunette. (35)

The third letter written on December 22, 1873, gives a list of the land owned by Moody in British Columbia. Moody was worried over the taxes and feared he would lose the titles. He was anxious to sell all but the 'Block extending from Sapperton along the North Road and the River Brunette, and on
(36)
Lake Burnaby.'

(34) Neither of these boys came to British Columbia.

(35) Moody to Crease, September 9, 1870. (Crease Correspondence - Provincial Archives).

(36) ibid., December 22, 1873.
Cf. See Appendix IX.

Major-General Richard Clement Moody died suddenly on
(37)
March 31, 1887 at Lyme Regis. An obituary in the London
'Times', in summoning up his work, said:

Under Colonel Moody's supervision the foundations of New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia, were laid, and Port Moody, the western-most point reached by the great Canadian Pacific Railway was named after him . . . his name will ever be associated with the fortunes of our rising dependency in the Western Pacific. (38)

Several memorials commemorate the work of the Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in British Columbia. Stanley Park, Moody Square, Sapperton and Port Moody have been referred to previously. In 1927 a Cairn with Tablet was erected at Sapperton to commemorate the landing of the Royal Engineers in
(39)
1859.

It is natural for men to form opinions. Sometimes there is agreement concerning the place of this one or that one in the great panorama that we call history. It would not be possible to obtain anything like unanimity of opinion as to the meritorious achievements of Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers. Possibly, if their work had been more spectacular,

(37) Wolfenden, op. cit., P. 4.

(38) The Times, London, April 6, 1887, P. 10.

(39) Geographical Gazetteer of British Columbia, Department of Lands, Victoria, 1930.

even though their contributions on the civil side had been less, they would be held in greater esteem. We can say however that they gave the young colony that important factor of order, without which, no development would have been possible. They came, they saw and did their duty well.

(40)

"Ubique Quo Fas et Gloria Ducunt".

(40) The Regimental Motto of the Royal Engineers.

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Encyclopedia of Canada, University Association of Canada, Toronto, 1936

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Good for background.

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Very good map, gold fields marked in gold.

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Good.

Emigration Map of British Columbia in British Columbia Information for Emigration, (Handbook). Issued by the Agent-General for the Province, London, England, 1875

SECONDARY, Maps (Cont'd)

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Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Town Chron-
icle Showing the Track of the Ship, Thames City
from England to Vancouver Island, with a de-
tachment of the Royal Engineers, 1858-1859

Hazlett, Wm. C., In the Great Gold Fields of
Cariboo. Routledge, Warne & Routledge, London,
1862

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Relating to Vancouver Island and British Col-
umbia, Longman, etc., London, 1860

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vey reports of Bentinck Arm Route, Cariboo and
Hopa-Similkameen, 1861-1863, Provincial Archives.

Waddington, A., Map of British Columbia, On the
Geography and Mountain Passes of British Columbia
in Connection with the Overland Route, 1868

APPENDIX I.

The composition of the force and the rates of pay and allowances as planned for the officers and the men was as follows:

OFFICERS

	Regimental Pay per <u>Annum</u>	Colonial <u>Allowance</u>	<u>Total</u>
	£	£	£
1 Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works--Colonel Moody R.E.	330	1,200	1,530
1 Captain.....	202	350	552
1 2d Captain.....	202	350	552
1 3d 2d Captain.....	202	350	552
2 Subalterns, (each).....	125	250	375

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SAPPERS

	Regimental Pay per Diem	Working Pay per Diem	Total	
	s. d.	s. s.	s. d.	s. d.
1 Color Sergeant and Acting Sergeant-Major.....	3-10½	3s to 5s	6 10½	to 8 10½
1 Sergeant and Acting Quarter- master Sergeant.....	3- 4½	3s to 5s	6 4½	to 8 4½
7 Sergeants, (each).....	2-10½	3s to 5s	5 10½	to 7 10½
8 1st Corporals.....	2- 2½	1s to 4s	3 2½	to 6 2½
8 2d Corporals.....	1-10½	1s to 4s	2-10½	to 5 10½
2 Buglers } 123 Sappers).....	1- 2½	1s to 4s	2 2½	to 5 2½

B.C. Papers Pt. I, P. 55 (August 23, 1858 - In Letter to Colonel Moody signed by H. Merivale).

Rates of Postage between the undermentioned places, in all cases to be prepaid.

	New Westminster	Douglas	Hope	Yale	Lytton	Lillooet	Williams Lake	Quesnelle	Antler
	Letters	News Papers							
New Westminster		5d' 2 ¹ / ₂ d'	5d' 2 ¹ / ₂ d'	5d' 2 ¹ / ₂ d'	1s'	5d'	1s'	5d'	4s'
Douglas	5d'		5d'	5d'	1s'	1s'	1s'	3s'	4s'
Hope	5d'	5d'		5d'	1s'	1s'	1s'	3s'	4s'
Yale	5d'	5d'	5d'		1s'	1s'	1s'	3s'	4s'
Lytton	1s'	1s'	1s'	1s'		1s'	1s'	3s'	4s'
Lillooet	1s'	1s'	1s'	1s'	1s'		1s'	3s'	4s'
Williams Lake	1s'	2s'	2s'	2s'	2s'	2s'		1s'	2s'
Quesnelle	1s'	3s'	3s'	3s'	3s'	3s'	1s'		1s'
Antler	1s'	4s'	4s'	4s'	4s'	4s'	2s'	1s'	

General Post Office, British Columbia, Warner Spalding M.P., 1st July, 1867.
 Quoted in British Columbia July 23, 1862.

APPENDIX III.

ROAD TOLLS

Date	Yale	Hope	Douglas
1860	216. 3.0	-----	373. 4. 6
1861			
January	26.19.0	-----	199. 9. 4
February	284. 9.0	2.18.0	184.12.11
March	584.16.0	1.16.0	313.12. 7
April	296.18.0	0.18.0	301. 9. 8
May	179. 2.0	2. 3.8	326.15. 9
June	272.15.0	15.14.3	364. 5. 4
	£1861. 2.0	33.10.8	2063.10. 1
July	200.18.0	68.12.6	406.15. 5
	2062. 0.0	92. 3.2	2470. 5. 0

TOTAL - £4624 8s 8d

Quoted in British Columbian, August 26, 1861.

237. 238. 239.

APPENDIX IV.

Abstract of Meteorological Observations,
New Westminster, B. C.

Photostat - in original copy only.

APPENDIX VA.

TABLE OF REVENUES & EXPENDITURES FOR THE
YEARS 1859-60-61, GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Heads of Receipts	1859 & part of 1858			1860			1861		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Customs Duties	17849	7	7	29702	8	7	32864	18	11
Harbour Dues	572	3	1	611	3	5	317	6	2
Head Money	224	12	0	1054	0	0	446	12	0
Seizures & Fines	459	10	2	115	18	11	67	6	0
Tonnage Dues				3669	5	3	3701	8	4
Inland Navigation Licences				98	10	0	52	8	0
Customs Fees				11	12	00	18	1	0
Land Sales	18923	5	8	11075	12	1	5703	15	0
Land Revenue				60	11	3	785	19	9
Free Miners' Certificate	508	0	0	1436	0	0	1925	0	0
Mining Receipts General	1372	12	7	807	5	4	765	6	5
Spirit Licences				1628	12	10	1837	2	9
Trading Licences) united 1859	4374	3	1	551	0	0	843	0	0
Road Tolls				589	7	6	6296	10	8
Rents (inclusive of land)	588	16	0	278	3	6			
Postal	157	1	7	121	7	55	131	1	1
Fines, Forfeitures & Fees	367	10	9	562	9	4	538	13	5
Fees of Office				226	17	6	617	6	10
Miscellaneous	1356	18	4	274	14	5	402	18	6
Rents (exclusive of land)	262	4	0	369	9	0	749	17	0
Deposits	108	15	6	40	1	9	10	12	0
Mule Tax				30	0	0			
Interest				11	12	10			
Refund				8	6		17	15	4
Sale of Government Prop'ty							173	16	11
Bullion Exchange							87	1	4
Reimbursements in aid of expenses incurred by Gov.							8	0	0
Excise Duties							34	0	0
Road Debentures Issued				5200	0	0	2250	0	0
Imperial Government	47125	0	4	58526	11	55	60645	17	5
Loan	39391	4	3	24518	5	6	18513	0	3
Treasurer, balance due him							1951	4	5
							2321	13	3
£	86516	4	7	83044	16	11	83431	15	4

APPENDIX VA. (Cont'd.)

EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEARS 1859, 1860, 1861,
GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Heads of Expenditure	1859 & part of 1858			1860			1861		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Salaries, fixed	4514	18	7	5190	17	11	7141	16	1
do Provisional & Temporary	10476	4	0	9179	19	2	12353	7	3
Office Contingencies	1250	7	11	1043	19	9	2081	2	1
Allowances	136	4	0	1018	9	4	530	7	10
Revenue Service, Exclusive of Establishments	761	17	11	179	1	7	221	11	8
Police and Gaols, do	24	7	0	792	14	0	2556	9	8
Works and Buildings	7344	7	11	3725	19	0	3079	18	5
Roads, Streets and Bridges	1005	4	1	21076	16	10	29010	10	10
Harrison River Road	292	1	0						
Surveys and Explorations	3726	3	1	1635	15	8	1881	12	3
Transport	2419	10	2	1263	9	4	4512	8	4
Miscellaneous	6650	14	10	317	0	10	469	8	10
Stores	651	16	5						
Fines, Forfeitures & Fees	56	19	4						
Rents	30	4	0	38	0	0	174	0	0
Adminstration of Justice	108	11	6	194	1	3	7	0	0
Charitable Allowances				200	0	0	449	3	10
Refunds				135	0	0	884	2	3
Conveyance of Mails				41	3	0			
General, Exclusive of Establishments				359	4	7	291	9	4
Light Houses							600	0	0
Bullion Exchange							49	19	9
Redemption of Roads				780	0	0	3620	0	0
	39449	11	9	47171	2	3	69982	10	2
Military Expenditure	37374	5	8	24688	7	3	20093	18	9
£	76823	17	5	71859	9	6	90076	8	11

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Expenditures on Roads, Streets and Bridges
and Works and Buildings from the -

COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY TO DECEMBER 31, 1860.

Roads, Streets and Bridges

Civil

Harrison Lillooet Trail	14,966	6	2		
Harrison Lillooet Road (Wagon) 1st Portage	883	0	5		
Boston Bar Trail	638	7	8		
Hope and Chilwayack	100	7	8		
Pitt River and other Trails out of New Westminster	267	7	6		
Douglas - Streets in Town of Yale D ^o	3 553	14 3	9 9		
Total 1858 - 1859				16,911	12 6
				<u>1860</u>	
Harrison Lillooet Road (Wagon) 1st Portage	5,655	1	3		
D ^o Repairs	54	0	0		
Yale and Spuzzem Mule Road	4,427	10	1		
Hope and Shilmlukomeen Road	4,307	9	1		
Chapmans Bar to Boston Bar	4,324	5	0		
Hope to Boston Bar	567	5	0		
Thompson River Trail repairs to	120	5	0		
Bridges on Quaqualla River	40	5	0		
Hope to Whatcom	106	18	0		
Langley to Sumas	240	18	0		

Civil (Con'd.)

Shilmilkomeen road Survey of	199	15	0			
Repairs to Trail around Jackass Mountain	35	15	0			
New Westminster 2 bridges 2227.6.0						
D ^o Clearing and making streets 692.6.8	919	12	8			
D. Trail to Burrards Inlet	150	12	8			
<u>Total of Civil</u>				21,076	16	10
<u>Military</u>						
Trail to Burrards Inlet from R.E. Camp 1859 270.0.0 D ^o D ^o 1860 22.7.8				92	7	8
<u>Total-Roads, Streets and Bridges</u>				38,080	17	0

Works and BuildingsCivil

At New Westminster						
Clearing Town site £1778.16. 1						
Building Survey office 493.18. 8						
D ^o Magistrate office 186.17. 0						
D ^o Treasury 804. 8. 0						
D ^o Custom House 540. 4. 0						
D ^o Revenue Station 43.10.10						
D ^o Pier 501. 3. 0	4,348	17	7			
At Langley						
Surveying in 1858 350. 6.10						
Buildings in 1858 80.17. 5						
Barracks in 1858 725. 2. 3						
Church, Parsonage 18592013. 7.10	3,169	14	4			

Civil (continued)

At Hope in 1858	223	13	8		
Government House Yale 1859	348	9	6		
D ^o Douglas	255	12	1		
D ^o Lytton	87	2	1		
House for Col. Moody at Victoria early 59	196	19	1		
Treasury Building at Victoria	90	19	1		
Buoying Fraser River	200	18	11		
<u>Total Civil Expenditure 1858-59.</u>				8,921	7 1
<u>Military</u>					
The Camp New Westminster	8,758	6	7		
Barracks Langley	320	0	5		
<u>Total Military</u>				9,078	7 0
			<u>1860</u>		
At New Westminster					
Assay Office and Officer's Quarters	1,072	8	2		
Building Court House and Prison	817	4	0		
Alterations to Treasury	278	4	8		
Building Revenue Station	194	18	1		
				2,362	14 11
Buoying Fraser River				236	4 2
Harrison River Navigation Improvement				698	19 2
Erection of Toll House at Yale				70	0 0

Civil (continued)

D ^o Lock Up at Lytton	†	†	†	†	124	†	4	†	0
Sundry Small repairs	†	†	†	†	135	†	15	†	110
Gov't House Douglas	†	†	†	†	98	†	0	†	11
<u>Total Civil for 1860</u> £3725.19.0	†	†	†	†		†		†	
<u>Military</u>	†	†	†	†		†		†	
Barracks at Esquimalt	†	100	†	16	†	1	†		
Hospital Married Quarters and New Westminster	†	1,392	†	6	†	4	†	1,493	†
<u>Total Military for 1860</u> £1493.2.5	†		†		†			†	
	†		†		†			†	
	†		†		†			†	
Add Roads, Streets &c.	†		†		†			†	
<u>Total Expenditure 31st Dec. 1860</u>	†		†		†			†	

New Westminster Civil cleaning Streets £2698. 8.9
 Buildings 4932.16.5
 Trails 417. 0.6

£8084.5.8

D^o Military

The Camp £10150.12.11
 North Road 92. 7. 8

10243.0.7

Total New Westminster

£18291.6.3

APPENDIX VC.

RE EXPENDITURE

To the Colonial Secretary
from Colonel Moody, 14th November, 1862.

In reply to your letter of the 5th Instant, No. 152, informing me that the Home Government had declined to meet the expenditures for the military Barracks and Quarters in this Colony and requesting me to furnish information,-

I have the honor to state there were no Barracks existent in the colony, nor any Buildings that could be applied to such purpose, and immediate provision for the accommodation of the Troops was an indispensable necessity - the steps I took, in reference thereto, were always in conference and communication with His Excellency.-

I presume that, as the Imperial Government decline to cover the expenditure, the whole of the Buildings, and ground they stand on, revert to the Colony, and at the close of the service of the Royal Engineers in the Colony, may be sold towards meeting the expenditure under consideration.-

The above explanation applies to the items marked A.

Items Marked B.

This Trail alluded to was inadvertently named Military - the term came to be applied as figurative of the extended importance of the Trail, - it communicated from the Camp to Naval support in Burrard Inlet - It should, however, have been classed among the other trails in the neighbourhood available for general advantage in the Colony.

Item Marked C.

The expenditure under the Head of Survey, Hope to Fort Colville, must be Lieut. Palmer's journey and reconnaissance during the period of the San Juan affair.

Item Marked D.

Of the temporary Buildings at Esquimalt I am unable to offer any information - The expense was not incurred under this Department - May it not have been incurred in some way for the North American Boundary Commission under Lieut. Colonel Hawkins, R.E.?-

(continued)

RE EXPENDITURE

(On the last sheet is a copy of Expenditure)

	£	s	d
A. Erecting military Barracks at New Westminster, 1859	8758.	6.	7
A. D ^o ----- D ^o ----- at Langley	320.	0.	5
B. Military Trail to Burrards Inlet	70.	0.	0
C. Survey Ft. Hope to Ft. Colville, 1860	40.	19.	6
D. Temporary Buildings at Esquimalt	100.	16.	1
A. Erecting Hospital and Officer's Quarters at New Westminster	1392.	6.	4
B. Balance on Trail to Burrards Inlet		<u>22.</u>	<u>7.8</u>
	£10704	.16.	7

APPENDIX VD.

APPOINTMENTS TO CIVIL OFFICES

Created by Her Majesty's Government.

Office	Name of Person Appointed	Date of Appointment	Salary
Governor of B. C. and Vancouver's Is.	James Douglas	2nd Sept. 1858	£ 1,800
Judge	Matthew W. Begbie	2nd "	800
Colonial Secretary	W. A. G. Young	6 Jan. 1859	500
Treasurer	W. Driscoll Gosset, Captain R.E.	17 Oct. 1858	500
Attorney General	George H. Carey	March 1859	400
Inspector of Police	Chartres Brew	2 Sept. '58	500
Collector of Customs	Wymond Hamley	16 Sept. '58	400
Harbour Master	James Cooper	2nd Sept. '58	400
			£ 5,300
<u>Clergymen at time:</u>			

Bishop - Rev. George Hills - Nov. 1858

Clergymen - Rev. J. Gamnaye - Sept. '58
Rev. Crickmer - Oct. '58.

Expenses connected with Survey to be defrayed from the
Sale of Lands in the Colony, or in default thereof, the other
branches of the Colonial Revenue.

Salary of Commissioner of Lands and Works,
Colonel Moody, R.E. (appointed 23rd August) £ 1,200

Colonial Allowances to officers of Royal Engineers
2 Captains £350 each
2 Subalterns 250 " 1,550

Continued

Working pay of Men of R. E.	
9 Sergeants	3s to 5s each per diem
16 Corporals)	
125 Sappers)	1s to 4s " " "

Stores supplied to Engineers etc.	£18,726.7.1
-----------------------------------	-------------

Payments made out of the Colonial Revenue, and sanctioned by Her Majesty's Govt.

Additional pay to the crews of Her Majesty's Ships "Satellite" and "Plumper" till 30 September 1858 when it was discontinued	£	s	d
	3,372	6	3
Construction of roads	10,000	-	-

Incidental Expenses incurred by Her Maj's Govt.

	£	s	d
Passage of Officers & their families to B.C.	700	-	-
Incidental expenses of Co. M. in Eng.	58	5	4
Letters Patent, erecting B.C. into a Colony	39	17	4
	£ 789	2	8

Military Expenses

Regimental Pay to R. E.	£	s	d
Col. Moody Commanding	330	-	-
1 Captain	202	-	-
1 Second Capt.	202	-	-
1 Ditto ditto	202	-	-
1 Subaltern	125	-	-
1 Ditto	125	-	-
1 Surgeon (with Colonial pay)	600	-	-
	£1,786	-	-

Regimental Pay of R. E. (Cont'd)	
1 Colour-sergeant & Acting Sergeant-Major	3s 10½d per diem
1 Sergeant & Acting Quartermaster-Sergeant	3s 4½d " "
7 Sergeants (each)	2s 10½d " "
8 First Corporals "	2s 2½d " "
8 Second Corporals "	1s 10½d " "
2 Buglers)	
123 Sappers)	1s 2½d " "

Continued.

Transport of the Engineers & Stores to B.C. 2 Captains & 32 men sent via Panama	£	s	d
	3,390	-	-
Transport of the Rest of Detachment & Stores by Cape Horn (estimated cost)	<u>5,946</u>	-	-
	£ 9,336	-	-

N.B. Douglas estimated revenue of 1859 would be £100,000

Import Duty on Good	£80,000
Export Duty on Gold	20,000
	<u>100,000</u>

(Referring to sale of land Douglas says:) "so I am in hopes of being able after the 1st year to pay all our own expenses".

Ref. B.C. Papers - Just before Part I, PP. 1-3.
May 18, 1859

APPENDIX VE.

A Return showing the Regimental and Colonial Pay of
the Detachment of Royal Engineers in British Columbia,
with cost of Rations, &c., &c.

	No.	Daily Regimental		Daily Colonial Pay		Daily Rations		Forage	
		Pay Defrayed by		Colonial Pay		Including Fuel		at 1/9	
		Rate	Amount	Rate	Amount	Price	Amount	No	per diem
								hr	Amount
Colonel									
Commanding	1	17/1	17	1	17	1/11	11	2	3 6
Captains	3	11/-	13	0	19/2 1/4	1/11	5	3	5 3
Lieutenants	1	6/10	6	10	13/8 1/2	1/11	1	1	1 9
Staff Assist.									
Surgeon	1	11/6	11	6	13/8 1/2	1/11	1	1	1 9
Sergeant Major	1	3/10 1/2	3	10 1/2	6/-	1/11	1	1	
Quarter Master									
Sergeant	1	3/4 1/2	3	4 1/2	6/-	1/11	1	1	
Sergeants R.E.	7	2/10 1/2	0	1 1/2	5/-	1/11	13	5	
Do R.A.	1	2/10	2	10	5/-	1/11	1	1	
Corporals R.E.	3	2/2 1/2	2	2 1/2	5/7	1/11	5	9	
do.	5	2/2 1/2	11	0 1/2	4/-	1/11	9	7	
do. R.G.	1	2/2	2	22	4/-	1/11	1	1	
2nd Do. R.E.	1	1/10 3/4	1	10 3/4	5/-	1/11	1	1	
Do. R.E.	8	1/10 3/4	15	2	4/-	1/11	15	4	
Sappers	99	1/2 1/2	5	19	7 1/2	11/11	9	9	
Bagler	1	1/2 1/2	1	2 1/2	4/-	1/11	1	1	
Servants) male	1	"	"	"	"	1/11	1	1	
Rations) female	2	"	"	"	"	1/6 1/2	3	1	
Wives Chi	37	"	"	"	"	1/6 1/2	2	17	0 1/2
Children	75	"	"	"	"	-/11	3	8	9
		£ 12	16	4 1/2	30	12	11 3/4	£ 19	7 7 1/2
									£ 12 3

A Return showing the Regimental and Colonial Pay of
the Detachment of Royal Engineers in British Columbia,
with cost of Rations, &c., &c.

APPENDIX VE. (Cont'd.)

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	HOW EMPLOYED	REMARKS
Detached	Night guard at Head	Colonel Moody also
D ^o	Quarters, Corporal	holds a Warrant from
	and 3 Sappers	the Crown the office
		of Chief Commissioner
		of <u>Lands and Works</u>
In Block with	A Flying Sentry by	and also from the
Lieut. V.S.A.	day on Sundays.	Crown the dormant
Surgeon and Mess	Regimental Orderly	Commission of Lieut.
Establishment	Corporal	Governor (without
		pay). Such commis-
	Hospital Orderly.	sion to be in force
		when the Governor is
	9 Sappers, Servants	absent from the
	including Mess est-	Colony of B. Columbia
	ablishment.	but he abstains from
		assuming office on
	1 Quarter Master	such occasions until
	Sergeant incharge of	instructions are
	Stores & acting	issued to him by the
	Barrack Sergeant	Governor. He believes
		such view to be in
	1 Sergeant in charge	accordance with the
	of Commissariat	spirit of the instruc-
		tions he received for
	2 Corporals) In the	the Secretary of State..
	2 2nd D ^o } Head	
	5 Sappers } Quarter	
	1 Bugler } Office	
	and Lands & Works	
	Office employed as	These Corporals on
	Clerks, Bookkeepers,	advanced pay are doing
	Draughtsmen, Printers	very responsible duty.
	and Lithographers.	Pay sanctioned by the
		Governor.
	1 Corp. R.A. on duty	
	as Orderly to Gov-	
	ernor.	
	1 Sergeant Major	
	7 Sergeants	
	6 Corporals	
	7 2nd D ^o	
	81 Sappers	
	Available for Public	
	Works & Survey	

APPENDIX VE. (Cont'd).

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	HOW EMPLOYED	REMARKS
	throughout the Col- ony and the sick in the Hospital from time to time would have to be deducted also the orderly Corporal	
	The Night Guard is employed in Public Works during the day	

Moody Correspondence F1156

This document was attached to a letter written to
Douglas on June 16, 1862.

APPENDIX VI. (Cont'd).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| 7. Making hand cuffs. | .020 |
| 8. Fatigues and miscellaneous duties. | .027 |

The above services are Public Works -
Private services are not charged to Government.

The cost of above if executed by Civil
labor is very difficult to approximate, or probably
may be said to be £3200.0.0.

Woody Correspondence, F 1157, April 23, 1863.
To Colonial Secretary in answer to enquiry from Douglas.

APPENDIX VI

EMPLOYMENT DURING WINTER.

Moody states that after the working season in the upper country many men are on leave without pay. The usual ones are - Offices, Stores, Surveys, Printing and Lithographing; Some are on Military details, sick in hospital, some 'on command' tailoring, shoemaking, etc.

The remainder from 14th November, 1862 to 31st March, 1863 - in approximate proportions shown decimally:

1. Felling, cutting and delivering
Firewood, exclusively. .154
2. Work at North Road and form other
roads in Forest - (some here for
firewood for the next summer and
winter and digging titches for
water for all camp services.) .558
3. Partially clearing and getting
sundry logs from 'Brunette' a
stream near Camp. .020
4. "Constructing Printing Establishment"
with change of arrangements of
offices and miscellaneous repairs
to buildings, premises, enclosures,
drains, spouts, roofs, office
fixtured, printing, frames. .120
5. Repairing tools, boats, stores,
barrack furniture, tents and other
miscellaneous articles, in use
through the year. .058

23 April, 1863

6. Assistance in construction of church-
service rendered in consideration of
non-payment, for pew-rents, for
Troops - Repairs and additions to
Registry and Assay Offices, Mint,
Machinery etc. .043

APPENDIX VII - RATIONS

COLONEL MOODY'S SCALE.

Articles	Man Daily	Weekly	Women	Child 1 yr. ov
		Ration	Ration	Ration
Meat (fresh)		1½ lbs	¾	½
D ^o (salt)	when fresh not procurable	1½ lbs	¾	½
Vegetable		1 lbs	whole	½
Bread	or portions	1½ lbs	¾	½
Biscuit or Flour	equal to 1½ lbs in all	1½ lbs	¾	½
Currents	or cranberries &c			
Tea		½ oz	whole	½
Coffee or Chocolate	or portion equal to ½ oz in both	½ oz	whole	½
Sugar		2 oz	whole	½
Peas	occasionally in			
Beans	lieu of Vegetables			
Mustard			½ oz	Whole
Pepper			¾ oz	whole
Vinegar			½ pt	whole
Tobacco		½ oz	no	no
Coals or Wood	on demand			
Soap		½ oz	whole	½
Candles		or value in oil	officer 1½ lbs	
Oil				
Salt		½ oz	whole	½
Matches		½ oz	1 box of fire	whole

(continued)

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COLONEL MOODY'S SCALE.

Articles	Man Daily	<u>Forage</u>		Weekly		Women	Children over
		<u>Ration</u>				<u>Ration</u>	<u>Ration</u>
Oats		per					
		horse					
		10 lbs					
Hay		12 lbs					
Straw		8 lbs					
Bran	on requisition			in lieu of			
				one feed			
				of corn	14lbs		
Candles							
<u>Extra</u>							
Officer Mess	to entertain friends	ration	candles	3 lbs			
		4					
Observatory							
Hospital			D ^o	3 only			
Guard							

Moody to Douglas, F1152, November 24, 1859
(Provincial Archives)

APPENDIX VIII

SCHEDULE OF CROWN GRANTS ISSUED TO ROYAL ENGINEERS
WHO SERVED IN THE COLONY OF B.C. UNDER COLONEL MOODY

Name	District	Sec.	Group	Remarks
William McColl	New West.	38	II	Dead
William Hawkins	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
James Ellard	-----	-----	-----	Application memo. see L. 8/71
James Duff	-----	-----	-----	Dead
James Tribute	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
William Christie	-----	-----	-----	Dead
Robert Armstrong	-----	-----	-----	Dead
A. Breakenridge	-----	-----	-----	Left the Colony
Robert Colston	New Westminster	61	II	Crown Grant 1074
Jonathan Brown	New Westminster	21R.7	W.B.N.	Dead
Samuel Dawson	-----	-----	-----	Left the Colony
Robert Goskirk	-----	-----	-----	Dead
Peter Leech	New Westminster	58	II	Crown Grant 1075
John McLure	New Westminster	44	II	Crown Grant 1049
M. McMillan	New Westminster	42	II	Crown Grant 1034
-----	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
William Manstrie	-----	-----	-----	Dead
Joseph Maynard	New Westminster	252	I	Left the colony
Alex. S. Robertson	-----	-----	-----	-----
Robert Robertson	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
George Rodgers	-----	-----	-----	Deserted
Lewis Bonson	New Westminster	47	II	Crown Grant 1052
Henry Bruce	New Westminster	49	II	Crown Grant 1054
Walter Alexander	New Westminster	98	II	Crown Grant 128 ?
Frederick Allen	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Isaac Maynard	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
William Harvey	New Westminster	64	II	Crown Grant 1130
Henry Soar	Coast	1	I	Crown Grant 1185
George Green	New Westminster	98	II	Crown Grant 1285
John Baker	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
George Hand	New West.	40	II	Crown Grant 1032
-----	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
James Alexander	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
James Flux	New West.	20-21	R6W5BN	-----
Sam Archer	New West.	27R6	6WB5N	-----
Thomas Carlyle	New West.	S19R	5WBAN?	-----
-----	-----	S24R	4WB4N	Crown Grant 1154
Thomas Armstrong	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Samuel Alman	-----	-----	-----	Deserted

(Cont'd)

Names	District	Sec.	Group	Remarks
Henry Benney	New West.	260	I	Crown Grant 1031 Dead
Richard Babbage				Returned to England
John Barnes	New West.	1.5.16	R5WB4	
Philip Craft	New West.	254	I	
James Conroy	New West.			Returned to England
John Cox	New West.	224	I	Crown Grant 1117
Edward Croft				Returned to England
Allan Cummins	New Westminster	43	II	Crown Grant 1035
James Cooper				Returned to England
James Dickson	New West.	256	I	
Edward Dodd				Returned to England
Charles Digby	New West.	233	I	Crown Grant 1116
Thomas Dorothy				Returned to England
Charles Delaney	New Westminster	263	I	Dead
Charles Durham				Deserted
Joseph Davis	New West.	219	I	Crown Grant 1448
Henry Dransfield				Left the colony
Wm. Edwards (1st)	New West.	255	I	
Jas. Elliot				Dead
George Eaton	New West.	27R.7	WB5N	Crown Grant 1007
Wm. Franklin				
John Foster	New West.	267	I	Crown Grant 1326
Joseph Frost				Returned to England
Thomas Gilchrist				Left the colony
James Gillis				Deserted
Matthew Hall				See L 272/11 A0 (?)
William Haynes	New West.	57	II	Crown Grant 1078
L. M. Hughes	New West.	15.22	R6WB5N	
Robert Hume	New West.	91	2	Crown Grant 1277
Wm. Hayward				Returned to England
Andrew Haig				Left the colony
Alfred Hawkins	New West.	45	II	Crown Grant 1050
Joseph Jaffray				Returned to England
Philip Jackman	New West.	266	I	Crown Grant 1277
Thomas Jones				Dead
James Keary	New West.	4	III	Crown Grant 1442
David Kennedy				Left the colony
John Linn	New West.	204	I	Crown Grant 1128
James B. Lauders	New West.	203	I	Crown Grant 1029
Thomas Lomax				Dead
Samuel Layman				Dead
John McGowan				Left the colony
John Murray	New West.	201	I	Crown Grant 1080
John Meade				Left the colony

(Cont'd)

Names	District	Sec.	Group	Remark
John Musselwhite	New West.	52	II	Deserted
Charles A. Mould	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
John McMorran	-----	-----	-----	-----
Thomas Mills	New West.	34 R.	6WB5N	Left the colony
George Bowden	-----	-----	-----	do.
William Byers	-----	-----	-----	Deserted
George Dobbs	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
Charles Eade	-----	-----	-----	C. G. 1276
Wm. Edwards 2nd	New West.	265	I	Returned to England
Sam Johnson	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
Frederick Thurgate	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
James Kennedy	-----	-----	-----	do.
George Cann	-----	-----	-----	do.
David Osment	-----	-----	-----	C. G. 1272
John McMurphy	New West.	65	II	-----
Jonathan Morey	New West.	65	II	Left the colony
Richard Bridgman	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
William Rogerston	-----	-----	-----	-----
John Smith	-----	-----	-----	do.
(15th Hussars)	-----	-----	-----	-----
James Lindsay R.A.	New West.	276	I	C. G. 1597
Charles Lindsay R.A.	New West.	276	I	C. G. 1597
Charles Sinnett	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
James Mornansell	See letter 621	-----	-----	-----
	74	106	I	C. G. 1838
A. R. Howse	New West.	37	II	-----
Richard Wolfenden	New West.	39	II	Left the colony
John Woodcock	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Henry Whitmore	-----	-----	-----	-----
(15th Hussar)	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
John White	-----	-----	-----	C. G. 1096
John McKenney	New West.	262	I	Deserted
Andrew Munroe	-----	-----	-----	Dead
James Digby	-----	-----	-----	-----
Henry Yates	-----	-----	-----	Dead
Robert Liddle	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
John Noble	-----	-----	-----	Crown Grant 1092
Robert Howell	New West.	61	II	Application made
George Newton	-----	-----	-----	12374 276 answered
	-----	-----	-----	74 7/3/74
William Oldham	-----	-----	-----	Left Colony
Thomas Price	New West.	56	II	Crown Grant 1077
Edward Pearson	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
Thomas Perkins	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England

(Cont'd)

Names	District	Sec.	Group	Remarks
Charles Pride	-----	-----	-----	Insane
William Patterson	See L (Innards) (?)	-----	See 4 5 7	App. made
George Purser	New West.	92	2	C. G. 1228
William Robinson	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Daniel Richards	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
Edward H. Roe	-----	-----	-----	Dead
George Rowbottom	New West.	60	II	Crown Grant 1079
John Seales	Authority to locate 13 Int ? Porpoise Bay - Instruction sur vey 24 June 75	69	-----	Dead - to wife Crown grant in 1878 See L 117/69 app. made
James Shannon	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
John Shannon	-----	-----	-----	Dead
Alexander Smith	New West.	63	II	Crown Grant 1129
Richard Sturtridge	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
Robert Stevens	Osoyoos	115	1	C. G. 1849 Application see 35 8/72 27/9/72
John Smith	New West.	93	II	Crown Grant 1206
Henry Smith	New West.	46	II	Crown Grant 1057
George Sainsbury	Dr. Kent claims this	-----	-----	Dead See 1 7/71 App. made
James Turnbull	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
George Turner	New West.	48	II	Crown Grant 1053
Edward Townsend	-----	-----	-----	Dead
James Thistleton	New West.	80	II	Crown Grant 1186
James Walsh	-----	See	L 166/71	App. made
Samuel Wakely	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Christopher West	New West.	59	II	Crown Grant 1073
James Wood	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
James Walsh	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
William Wilkinson	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
George Williams	New West.	54	II	Crown Grant 1072
Daniel Harris	-----	-----	-----	Returned to England
Robert Butler	New West.	202	I	Crown Grant 1030
Daniel Dease	New West.	2	III	-----
R. M. Rylatt	New West.	253	I	-----
James Hall	-----	-----	-----	C 40/70 App. made
Wm. Bowden R.A.	New West.	55	II	C. G. 1076
Wm. Hall	New West.	41	II	C. G. 1033
Wm. Saunders	New West.	S.S.O.R!7.W.B.S.N!	-----	Dead
William Deas	-----	-----	-----	Left the colony
John Jane	New West.	118	2	Crown Grant 1404
Thomas Reid	Transferred to	W. H. Rowling	-----	C. G. 1153

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APPENDIX LX

Letter from Colonel R. C. Moody to H. P. P. Crease,
December 2, 1873.

This letter contains a list of land owned by
Colonel Moody in British Columbia in 1873.

Photostat - in original copy only.